The Crisis

A Record of the Darker Races

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THE CRISIS

Vol. 31 No. 6 APRIL, 1926 Whole No. 186

OPINION of W. E. B. DU BOIS

PRIZES IN LITERATURE AND ART

THE CRISIS IS OFFERING $600 for essays, stories, poems, plays and drawings. The contest closes May first, 1926. We will be glad to furnish details to all who inquire. Last year we discovered new and unknown writers as well as stimulating the better known. May we not do the same this year? We await the contributions of all with interest and assure them the most careful reading and attention.

PILGRIMAGE

I HAVE BEEN MAKING MY ANNUAL PILGRIMAGE to see The Problem at first hand. It seems to be flourishing. First in Youngstown, Ohio, it squirms in this wise: The leading lawyer of the city, with luxurious new offices in the New First National Bank building and a wide and old practice, is of Negro descent. About him and other black folk of income and standing have swirled thousands of new black immigrants, sooty and sweating in the steel mills that make this valley a wierd and crimson inferno for coining yellow gold. The Y. M. C. A. has no room for these black boys. It wants a black Y. M. C. A. It puts it this way: "To raise the amount necessary a city wide campaign would have to be conducted that would necessarily be a campaign known as a Campaign for a 'Colored Building'. There is no use deceiving ourselves, it is only upon this basis that the money could be raised, as 90 per cent of it will have to come from a group of white friends who are definitely in favor of a down town building for colored work, however unfortunate this may be, and who cannot at this time be shaken from this position. The objection to this plan of course is that it sets off this building as a building for colored men and will likely remain so for some years."

They have a colored secretary—a fine man, formerly a fighting "Y" man in France—and he is waiting for the work to begin.

"But", say the lawyer and his friends, "shall we have additional segregation in Christianity in Ohio? Shall we back and promote a 'Jim Crow' Y. M. C. A.? No!"

Whereupon a new voice shrills through—the voice of the Sosos who brought me to lecture. "We don't care a damn", cry the young men, "how we get it or what we do; we want the privileges of a Y. M. C. A. club and we're going to have it. If the hypocritical whites won't admit us let them go to the devil and give us a black house with a black leader!"

In the midst of this turmoil was I dropped. I am afraid my spoken words were indefinite.

IN FORT WAYNE, Indiana, I sat after the lecture with a group of Jews and talked intimately. Every problem which I called mine had its counterpart in problems which were theirs. We discovered each other as

those walking in shadows descry familiar landmarks. If the West Indies swamp the aristocrats of Brooklyn in St. Phillips, so the Russian East Side of Fort Wayne makes the Temple "unfamiliar" to the rich and conservative West Side. A Southern white woman's laughter at her extradition from the souls of Virginia; the problem of liberalism in religion and radicalism in economics, of ingrained race hate—all were there. We had a gorgeous evening.

THERE WERE TWO YOUTHS among the 800 auditors of the Open Forum in Detroit. I pilloried the audience for mob violence to force segregation. "Don't you think", yelled one youth in reply, "that the Supreme Court decision against segregation was the greatest blow the Negro ever received?" Can you beat it? I replied that I did not think so. He was a young foreigner, wild and blond.

The other came to me confidentially after the lecture. "Say—", he said, "See here"; and he told me of a man who was a "good friend of your people" until a Negro bought property next him and depreciated the value of his house. "Don't you think it was unwise for the Negro to buy?" "No", I answered. "No, *No!*" "I do", he replied firmly, "I do."

THE IMPORTANT GENTLEMAN who runs the Y. M. C. A. Forum in Toledo in a noisy lobby wanted to answer the questions of the audience for me. He was afraid that I doubted white religion and the divine right of property to rule. I had to be firm with him and then we got on. I shall probably not speak there next year.

AND THEN I FLEW NINE HUNDRED MILES over land and river, by field and village, city and town, through poverty and wealth, smoke and sunshine, across the vale of the Mississippi, through Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri, by Indianapolis and St. Louis, to Oklahoma. I felt the thrill I always feel as I enter the land of slavery. It was like the nerves in a plunge in icy waters. But I knew the afterglow would come. For who am I that should write of Negro problems and never know in my own body the "Jim Crow" car and street car, the black ghetto, the world "for colored" and "for white", the separate schools and streets and theatres, and Twin Worlds?

I hired my Pullman only to Monette, 30 miles this side the border. Legally, as an inter-state passenger, I could ride to Tulsa, but what does Oklahoma care for Law? So I walked into the coach at Monette. We rolled to the border. The conductor glanced at me and went on. Then he came back.

"I beg your pardon", he said, "What nationality are you?" Wasn't it funny? I could have been anything on God's earth but what I was and ridden in that coach into Oklahoma. I could have been Indian, Mexican, Philippino, Igorrote or lap dog. I could have been a murderer, rapist, thief or swindler. My American citizenship for six generations was the one thing that called for insult. I could have denied it, lied, jabbered Spanish, French or Hog-latin and been undisturbed; but when I said "I am an American Negro" the conductor showed me the "Jim Crow" car.

It was on the Frisco line. The Negro section was small and dirty. It was imperfectly separated from the white smokers. The conductor was ashamed of it. He suggested a seat with less draft. He was interested to know where I was from. He

was sure I wasn't from "around here".

I STAND BEFORE TULSA WITH UNCOVERED HEAD. It is the most astonishing case of Negro grit of which I ever heard. I know the softer side of my folk; they smile, they are kind, they sing, they cringe, they give up. But now and here in Tulsa, they fight back; they kill and die and rise again and they do not know when they are whipped. I stand before Tulsa with uncovered head.

Black Tulsa is a happy city. It has new clothes. It is young and gay and strong. Five little years ago fire and blood and robbery leveled it to the ground, flat, raw, smoking. It knew murder and arson and wild, bitter hatred. Yet it lived. It never died. It reeled to its feet blindly. Not a cent of money did the white insurance companies pay for the burned homes. Not a dollar of credit would the white banks offer at first. The money, clothes and furniture which the white defenders of Nordic supremacy stole were never returned. Yet Tulsa today stands almost trim in new brick and wood. Scars are there yet, here and there, but the city is impudent and noisy. It believes in itself. Thank God for the Grit of Tulsa.

Black Tulsa started that riot. It went out gunning for lynchers. It said "There shall be no lynching"; there was none. But there was war. A flying squadron of black riflemen rushed into white Tulsa. Driven back, they sniped and killed the white invaders from the housetops. White Tulsa and all the countryside armed for war. They came down to black Tulsa with machine guns and airplanes. It was real war: murder, fire, rape, theft. The same sort of thing that gained the *Croix de Guerre* in the World War. They killed unarmed men, women, children. They left sobbing despair and black ruin. But black Tulsa rose triumphant from the dead. Black Tulsa will fight again if fight it must and white Tulsa knows it. White Tulsa concealed its dead. It hid them and sent them to neighboring towns. White women choked back their awful tears and smiled before keen eyed and smiling black servants. Black women shrieked and quivered and once a black woman and a white woman fell into each other's arms and wept and wept for sheer horror.

There is something awful about Oklahoma. Everybody talks of murder easily—the spruce white business man gossiping over his cigar; the smart white flapper of 19—"That's where ——— was killed, ain't it?" The Western South. The Southern West. Prairies with sky-scrapers, wealth, luxury and starvation wages, Indians and automobiles. And over all the wide western winds of eternity and soft sunshine.

Black Tulsa is bone of the bone and flesh of the flesh of Oklahoma. It is harsh and crude beneath its Negro sweetness and song. I scarcely entered the hotel when a boy, drunk, with his face slashed open, staggered past me and disappeared in the dark. All day, all night, young girls, with faces pretty and cowed, walked through the halls. Young black men swaggered and loafed on the streets. "Tell him I'll kill him," cried one of his friends. "Go tell him I want to be fair but—"

And yet this city is brave. It is lurching forward. I saw 800 black teachers assembled and there were fine, intelligent faces among them. Their leaders talked to the white superintendents who dropped in—they talked and talked softly but they did

not crawl, they did not cringe. And the white visitors did not patronize. One of them talked of Douglass and Lincoln and called both great Americans. He didn't even mention the White Wife. Diplomats were there—white superintendents, black principals; warily they fenced with foils—you heard the silent "touché!" of a thousand eyes. And what should I say in this curious land? I hardly knew what would help or hinder.

But Tulsa helped me. She did not cringe before riot and lynching. She did not lie down and fawn and "white-folks-nigger" it to save a worthless pride. She killed the beasts and died and rose again. Brave and happy Tulsa!

The Kansas cities look north and south and west. There is a wall of jagged rocks upon the Twenty-fourth Street hill. "Thus far and no further," said the white city to the black. But the blacks have climbed the hill and straddled the rocks with new and beautiful homes. Bombs await them if they dare the Boulevard but they'll dare. The problem here is internal: For what shall they sell their votes, a salary or a principle? Where shall they send their boys to college, to white universities which despise and discriminate, or to Quindaro which is wretched? Shall the new colored hospital be the football of politics? Shall Lincoln University be crippled by the ousting of Young before he has had the beginning of a chance to cleanse that ancient cesspool of graft?

Chicago is always overwhelming. A vast, inchoate, gigantic thing. It does, but what does it do? It has splendid, powerful minds and muscles and wills, white and black—but what does it think, what does it want? The integrating Ideal is lacking, the beautiful Faith, the developing Unity. I always feel like a lost stranger in Chicago, clasping in the murk and shadows here and there a warm, kind hand and losing it straightly. I never know Chicago.

HUBBARD AND FLOWERS

AS THE GOOD BOOK SAYS, "It sure do beat hell," the way the innate physical superiority and stamina of the Nordics is being beaten, punished and generally misused by miserable Negroes. Of course it proves nothing, absolutely nothing as to racial equality when Hubbard flies swifter than white folk, Flowers knocks them end ways and Mr. Dempsey develops a weak heart because of Texas Rickard's strenuous efforts to protect him from the Wills wallop. Quite the contrary. In fact, these exceptions prove the rule. Anglo-Saxon superiority needs no proof and has never had it. Yet and still, all this Negro championship business is wretched publicity and we learn that the Macon *Telegraph*, the Newport News *Daily Leader* and Cole Blease are going to do something about it. Personally we favor deportation. Whenever black men or red men or yellow perils get too bloomin' gay with the feet and faces of white folk, charge them with moral turpitude and deport them to Africa, Asia or Russia. In the case of youngsters who threaten to out-talk the scions of the proud white South on the "Constitution of our Country" with its 16 amendments—(we count the 13th, 14th, 15th and 18th as only *half* amendments) — in this case we strongly commend the attitude of the Kansas City *Star*, that pillar of Truth and Justice: The *Star* simply excludes the young Negroes from the competition. Why not? If they win they prove nothing. If they lose they show the superiority of the whites. Selah! The Union must be pre-

served. Britannia rules. Deutchland ueber alles. America first. White supremacy still lives even if it doesn't.

THE TUSKEGEE HOSPITAL

THE HOPE OF THE WHITE SOUTH eventually to control the great Tuskegee Hospital is not yet dead. The Veterans' Bureau at Washington, ever since Major Ward's appointment, has been active or inactive in holding up his requisitions and delaying his recommendations. Two black employees, Jones and Nelson, helped by the unspeakable Perry Howard, have been fomenting trouble on the ground, even after Jones has been dismissed from his job as engineer. He and Howard are now in Washington lobbying with Congressmen and grooming Nelson to displace Ward.

Meantime Major Ward has spent $1,290,000 and accounted for every penny. 383 colored officials draw $446,000 in salaries and attend to 593 patients. Captain W. D. Miller of the Rehabilitation Section of the American Legion, after visiting 14 hospitals, says that the Tuskegee Hospital is among the cleanest and best.

AGAIN, PULLMAN PORTERS

AS A CLASS Pullman porters are gentlemen in the best sense of that overworked word. They are courteous, silent and of infinite patience. Nowhere in the traveling world can one find a set of public servants who do their work so thoroughly and so well.

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Particularly in the service of their own race have the porters done an unforgetable service. Without stirring racial animosities, with infinite tact and with sympathetic courtesy they have made it possible for twelve million insulted people to travel with a minimum of insult and inconvenience. I have travelled 50,000 miles in every state in the union and without the ministrations of the Pullman Porter I should today be dead of exhaustion and shame.

As it is the Pullman Company, relying on indifferent public opinion, can buy directly and indirectly the silence of the press black and white, the connivance of the United States Department of Justice and the halfhearted slobbering of white union labor so as to block the belated effort of Pullman porters to form a real and effective labor union. And in order more completely to befuddle the men who are at their economic mercy, the company is offering them, with wide gestures of benevolence, a "company union" where hand-picked lackeys "representing" the porters will smother complaints and take orders meekly. And, says this rich corporation, take this, shut up or lose your jobs.

Well, perhaps it is better to lose this job. Perhaps we have served as porters long enough. We were good slaves; but we outgrew the job. We were good cheap servants; we are outgrowing that job. We are good porters. But if being porters means being driven slaves and alms-taking servants, then God haste the day when we outgrow *that* job.

Lenin Casts His Shadow Upon Africa

ABRAM L. HARRIS, JR.

I RECEIVED the B. S. degree from the Virginia Union University in 1922, after which I was appointed assistant to the Director of Research and Investigations of the National Urban League. While serving in this capacity I entered the New York School of Social Work as student in social research and later matriculated as a graduate student in journalism and economics at the New York University. In September, 1923, I entered the University of Pittsburgh as an Urban League fellow. In June, 1924, I received the Master of Arts degree in social economy from the University of Pittsburgh. Subsequently I was appointed Professor of Social Economy at the West Virginia Collegiate Institute. I remained at Institute until June, 1925, at which time I became Executive Secretary to the Minneapolis Urban League.

ABRAM L. HARRIS, JR.

I have contributed articles of economic and sociological interest to such magazines as Current History, Journal of Social Forces, THE CRISIS *and The Modern Quarterly.*

SOVIET RUSSIA'S avowal to organize American Negroes into a revolutionary working class movement has come to partial fruition in the American Negro Labor Congress which met in Chicago during the last week of October. This convention while not actually known to have been backed with Soviet gold was openly sponsored by the Workers' (Communist) Party of America.

Public interest focused upon the series of meetings if for no other reason than that a revolutionary meeting of Negroes violates the traditional norm of Negro group behaviour which is commonly accepted as conservative. The national press suffered paroxysms of fear. It paternalistically exhorted the Negro, on the one hand, to stand by private property institutions in which he holds such a large stake, while, like the little boy whistling in the dark, it flattered itself, on the other, into cocksureness over the Negro's unshakeable faith in American democracy.

Reflection upon the statement of grievances which emanated from the Negro Labor Congress should not lead anyone acquainted with the aspirations of various Negro advancement societies to conclude that it was a very revolutionary assemblage. It is true that the Congress, in addition to its resolves against color distinctions in American institutions, did unequivocally endorse the principle of *social equality*. Although an open advocacy of social equality by an organization may still place it beyond the pale of popular sympathy or esteem, a constant championing of the principle has robbed it of some of its ancient terror. One does not render oneself as liable in this day and time to social anathema by subscribing to a belief in social equality between the races as in the days when W. E. B. Du Bois was blazing the trail

for the then unborn militant Negro movements. So the demands of the Labor Congress, which strike at certain restraints and repressions that racial circumstance and social tradition have placed upon the Negro, should hardly be labeled as revolutionary or even as ultra-militant utterances. From another point of view, however, the Congress showed a decided radicalism. It did not attribute racial distinctions to the mental attitudes which are said to determine the quality of inter-racial associations and the extent to which they are permitted to take place in American life. The very fact that other schools of race leadership seem unable to allay the racial embroglio by correcting these mental attitudes that form the background of race prejudice led the American Negro Labor Congress to re-diagnose this affectation of the body *socius*. From its analysis it discovered that it is neither in racial intolerance nor color psychology that the problem of the races originates. Race prejudice, like all of society's multifarious ills for which communism is the only panacea, arises out of modern capitalism. Above all, the Congress uncovered an intrigue in which American capitalists have conspired for the purpose of forestalling proletarian solidarity. The capitalists are using the race question as means of carrying out its policy of *divide et impera*. Thus rang the Negro communists' indictment against capitalism: "Intent upon holding down the workers of all races as a general lower class, our masters wish to make us a general lower class within a lower class. The white worker must be made to realize that this discrimination against the Negro worker comes back against him ultimately."

This is the manner in which the Negro communist leaders of the Labor Congress diagnosed the race problem; the therapy for curing the malady logically suggests itself, viz., destroy the monster that breathes race hate.

It is not the demands of the Congress which gives it a character dissimilar to that of other organizations for the Negro's political and social advancement. Nor is it by these demands that its communistic bias is revealed. It is its *modus operandi* which gives it the unbegrudged distinction of economic radicalism among the agencies for racial betterment. The question which next arises is: "Why the communistic flavor of the Convention?"

Certain writers have already suggested that communistic propaganda is being disseminated among the Negro masses by Soviet Russia's black emissaries whose palms have been well greased with gold. The communist propagandists would perhaps enter the rejoinder that these same writers who accuse them of venality are likewise paid by the capitalists to extol the virtues of bourgeoisie and to caricature Negro communists. That Lovett Fort Whiteman—the Negro who more than any other person was responsible for the Congress convening—is in the pay of the Workers' Party which in turn is being financed by the Soviets is an incident insufficiently phenomenal to provoke comment from us whose exchange is always calculated according to the holy canons of price economy. If the servant is worthy of his hire, he expects remuneration for his labor whether performed in behalf of the Rotary Club or directed toward organizing Negroes for the class struggle. It is of little concern to me that Mr. Whiteman's radical proclivities led him to barter with the communists instead of seeking possibly more lucrative hire with the rotarians. In fact, this whole question of Soviet gold, I rule out as irrelevant to any fair appraisal of the social significance which attaches to the American Negro Labor Congress. For it is evident that no assemblage like the Labor Congress, where Negroes gathered in primary interest of their economic fortunes as wage-earners, could have come to pass merely because Soviet Russia or some of its missionaries bade it meet. Not Soviet gold but social facts furnish the explanation for the convention's radicalism and its departure from the racial assumptions and logic of the older Negro social institutions.

I have already suggested one explanation —the seeming inability of so-called bourgeois organizations among the Negro to remove race animosity by means of interracial education. Another explanation has to do with color prejudice in the American Labor Movement which has hampered the Negro's economic advancement.

In the late 90's the surplus Negro labor thrown off by a decadent agricultural system in the Southern States gradually

moved toward the cities. Moreover the expansion of Northern industry in the first quarter of the present century and the constriction of the foreign labor supply resulted in the absorption of this plethoric supply of Southern Negro workers. But before the mass movements of 1916-17 and 1922-23 of Negroes from the South were set in motion, Negro labor had very often been imported as strike breakers. Continued migrations swelled the supply of black labor which was more and more looked upon by employers' associations and unions alike as a reservoir of potentially skilled labor whose power might be undammed as occasion should warrant, thus undermining the very foundation of organized labor. Competition between white and black workers ensued—but more directly between the unorganized unskilled white workers and the Negro than between the skilled organized white workers and the latter. Still the hostility which the increasingly great numbers of Negroes to the North occasioned did not stop with the unskilled unorganized white workers. Seemingly some crafty genie had inoculated every stratum of the Northern white population with the virus of race prejudice. The most calamitous manifestation of this quickened color-psychology centered around the housing problems which faced the new and increasing black population. A sullen resentment to Negroes intruding white residential sections was and can today be easily fanned into serious race conflicts by a most trivial altercation between an individual white and black although the original cause of the fracas may have had no rational bearing upon race. No doubt these disturbances challenged any complacent faith the Negro had placed in the survival of abolitionist sentiment in the North. The Negro met this challenge with a re-vitalized race consciousness which had flowered languidly in Southern soil. Whatever the price exacted of him in social contempt or even blood shed, he seemed willing to pay it in exchange for a chance to secure higher wages, permanency of employment and an opportunity for cultural development.

In meeting this circumstance where slumbering passions had been aroused, organized labor futilely admonished Negroes not to permit themselves to be used as strike breakers. The policy of the American Federation of Labor was laissez-faire as usual. Its failure to counteract some of the competition between white and black workers by organizing the latter has been attributed to a weakness which arises out of its structure as a confederation of craft organizations. Negro labor recruited from the South was not only cheap labor but unskilled. It therefore had no place in a confederation of trade unions where possession of a craft is pre-requisite to membership. Without reviving the hoary dissension which *industrial unionism* and *amalgamation* versus *trade unionism* and *craft separatism* has occasioned, it is sufficient to say that the Federation is losing much of its conservatism in respect to organizing Negroes. Unskilled Negroes are being organized, e. g., the hod-carriers in the Building Trades Department. On the other hand, a great number of Negroes who possess a craft are kept out of the Labor movement by virtue of downright union prohibitions. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor although persistently petitioned to by Negro organizations has procrastinated formulating a definitive policy toward the organization of Negroes. Therefore the exclusion of Negroes by certain unions does not seem to be merely due to the American Federation's structure which has evolved out of the experiences of the American worker. Much of the exclusion of Negro workers may be logically attributed to a color psychology which permeates the American Labor movement as it does other American institutions.

The American Negro Labor Congress appears to me to be, fundamentally, a revolt against this color psychology in the labor movement; and, incidentally, a protest against race prejudice in American life and the racial inequities arising out of it. Like most of us, the Negro communists believe that the insecurity of job and the inadequacy of income are bound up inextricably with the Negro's problems of housing, health and cultural development. But unlike some of us they believe that nothing short of a new social order can relieve the Negro of such social handicaps. Furthermore the inability of the Negro wage earners to better their economic status through collective bargaining because of the barriers set up by various unions against Ne-

gro membership; the apparent conspiracy between white employers and employees to keep Negro workers out of certain occupations; a growing disquietude among the Negro masses over the conciliatory character of present Negro organizations whose progress in race relations provokes doubtful concern; and a general dissatisfaction with the restraints placed upon the Negro by American race sentiment are factors in a racial circumstance which furnishes a field of inviting fertility for a propaganda which promises a world where economic and social equality prevails. Perhaps, most of the rank and file of the American Negro Labor Congress was wholly unacquainted with Marxian economics or the recent Leninized version of it. Nor, perhaps, was this rank and file very gravely concerned with the proposed reorganizatnon of modern industrial society. Yet the Communist Party's appeals to it met a sympathetic response in spite of its impotence in securing any immediate economic good for the Negro or for that matter any ultimate good either for the Negro or for the white worker. But when the promise of racial equality, which although as a principle of social ethics has to await realization in a future world, is re-enforced by daily observance of equality in social practice as is done in the Workers' Party, it must have a tremendous appeal to a disadvantaged group such as is the Negro.

The Negro communist leaders, however, are more gullible than the masses whom they are proselytizing for the class struggle. They really believe that society is upon the threshold of the millennium. I have talked with many of them. Sometimes, I have left some one of these apostles with the feeling that I had come under the spell of a new evangelism. On one occasion I rushed into the street expecting to behold a great proletarian uprising which I had been told by one of my black communist visitors was just around the corner. Thoroughly drilled, and rigid "economic determinists", my communist friends argue that economic factors and the exploitation of black and white wage earners by capitalists sweep away the barriers of race. They say that the Negro and white workers are members of the same economic class; their interests are identical, *ergo*, they will unite in proletarian solidarity against capitalism. But are the interests of white and black workers identical? If white and black workers will not unite in a trade union for economic self preservation how much more unlikely is it that they will unite to promote the social revolution? These are questions which might involve interminable discussion. This much seems to me irrefutable: if their interests are identical there is little recognition of it on the part of white and black proletariat. And granting that the capitalists have entered a conspiracy to divide the untutored proletariat over the color question, the capitalists surely could not provoke race hostility between white and black workers if the workers themselves did not possess confirmed racial sentiments upon the basis of which appeals to race prejudice can be made. The conspiracy between capitalists to keep the Negro in a lower class within a low class is another illustration from which neither logic nor actual race relations in industry can deliver such doctrinnaires. Not only have white workers in the organized labor movement barricaded the entrance to many types of employment against the Negro but unorganized white workers from common laborers to the white-collared aristocracy have protested against being forced by their employers to work in the same shop or plant with "niggers".

The social unrest among the Negro over which we waxed philosophical a few years back was not completely exhausted by the Garvey movement fiasco. Much of the ferment remains. Two years ago, a friend of mine wrote this about the Garvey movement: "It is just another name for psychology of the American Negro peasantry —for the surge of race consciousness felt by Negroes throughout the world, the intelligent as well as the ignorant. Tho visionary and perhaps impossible of accomplishment, it afforded a mental relaxation for the long submerged Negro peasantry. Balked desire, repressed longings, must have an outlet." My friend then queried, "After Garvey—What?" Had I known what I think I know today I would have answered, "Communism".

Next month we shall publish an excellent article on "The Color of Othello" by Miss Alice Werner, sometime Scholar and Fellow of Newnham College, Professor of Swahili and Bantu languages, School of Oriental Languages, London University.

War Resisters of the World

Four American Negroes, including the author, attended this convention last July.

WILLIAM CURTIS CRAVER

AMERICANS, especially the student groups, have heard a great deal about "High Leigh", at Hoddesden, one hour from London. It was at this ancient estate, one of the most beautiful "garden spots" of England, that just one year previously the General Committee of the World's Student Christian Federation, composed of thirty odd nations and races, had met to discuss world problems from the Christian viewpoint. One hundred representatives were present from 18 different countries including the United States. Among the several outstanding difficulties faced by this gathering I have heard of none that was more baffling than war. High Leigh was therefore ready to give an "inspiring time" to any serious International group looking toward the abolition of war. Here, during the early days of last July, at which time certain American groups had just dissuaded their President from giving government consent to army demonstrations of "preparedness", was called the first International War Resistance Conference. Mr. A. Fenner Brockway, Chairman of the International War Resisters Union, writing in *No More War*, an English journal, gives an interesting description of the spirit and personnel of this gathering in these words:

"The experience of mingling with comrades of almost every race and color—representative of men and women in eighteen different countries pledged in the name of human brotherhood never to take part in war against each other—this in itself was a wonderful inspiration. Europeans, Americans, Negroes, Chinese, Indians sat side by side in the closest comradeship. The spirit of happy fraternity never left us—it was there in the prolonged discussions, at our meals, in our games and walks, in many personal conversations."

Runham Brown, secretary of the "no more war" movement in England, was chosen the first chairman. Mr. Brown, in his address and in every movement as a presiding officer, epitomized and inspired the remarkable unity that characterized the entire conference throughout as to its main purpose.

There were two differences, or better, two minds, in the conference. The first regarding the relation of war resisters to the State; the second regarding alternative service. The philosophic anarchistic view of the State was voiced by Pierre Ramus, famous Austrian anarchist, Meyer of Holland and Harold Bing, leader of the Youth division of the "no more war" movement of England. The alternative service supporters leaned to the spirits of Doctor Helene Stoecker of Germany, Balazs of Hungary and Fenner Brockway of England. The argument of the Anarchist group was that the State was born as an instrument of force, has always been such, and by its nature must always remain such. The opposite view as expressed was this: A democratic State represents, broadly, public opinion, that it is both evil and good because public opinion is something that can be democratized and demilitarized, and that War Resisters are justified in working for a change in public opinion that will bring about these ends. It was observed by one who sat in the convention that the non-State attitude was much stronger in the minds of continental delegates while the delegates of Scandinavia and England stood almost wholly for alternative service. But whatever the differences were as to method all were agreed that: "Our first work is to resist war".

The attitude of the conference on imperialism was discovered when H. C. Chang of China and R. O. Raha of India laid down some guiding principles in regard to war and imperialism. Both delivered their messages triumphantly. There is little doubt but that the Asiatics helped the conference to arrive at the following resolution:

"This Conference of the War Resisters' International has heard with deep sympathy of the suffering of our friends in Asia, America and Africa, under the tyrannic oppression of foreign governments. In

THE MEETING AT HIGH LEIGH

China this domination has resulted in outrage and death and in war in Morocco.

"We recognize that this domination does not come only from foreign nations, but from world capitalism, which knows no barriers of race and country.

"We declare our belief in the oneness of the human family and that every member of it should be free from all kinds of oppression.

"We urge the friends of peace living in those countries which are oppressed by foreign governments and those who are living under those oppressing governments to look beyond national and race barriers and join together in the movement for world brotherhood and freedom by the methods of fearless non-violence."

The purpose, goal and real significance of the convention seem to be wrapped in the declaration of principles which was announced during the closing hours:

"This Conference of the War Resisters' International, representing forty-three organizations in nineteen countries in Europe, America, Asia, Australia, declares its belief in the essential unity of all peoples of whatever race, color or creed. It denounces all forces which make for their division, exploitation and enmity, and especially the evils of armaments, militarism and war; it pledges those whom it represents to work unceasingly for a new relationship between nations based on fraternity instead of force, and service instead of subjection; and, recognizing the ever present danger of war under existing conditions, reaffirms in the spirit of indissoluble comradeship the determination of its thousands of affiliated members throughout the world to refuse military war service under all circumstances and, whatever the consequences, in loyalty to the supreme claim of the common humanity of all peoples."

As one looks back upon the conference one remembers many fine personalities that were imminent in the leadership. The words of another eye witness most vividly describe the scene:

"There was Pierre Ramus the vigorous Austrian anarchist, a mass of black hair forever waving above his fine head. He had prepared speeches and resolutions on every conceivable subject, and yearned to get them all in. But his earnestness and geniality won all our hearts, and his rhetoric thrilled us. There was Marianne Rauze, a frail refined veteran, with the suffering of mankind (and France) in her face. There was Premysl Pitter, quiet leader of Czecho-Slovakia, whose beauty of character found expression in his every action. There was Helene Stoecker, German doctor, ripe in judgment and broad in her outlook. So I could go on—every comrade was an inspiration."

And so, here at High Leigh, the most remarkable unity ever attained by an International organization in regard to war was achieved. It was a great compliment to the World's Student Christian Federation which had just concluded its sessions at the same place and whose motto is: "Ut Omnes Unum Sint".

The Negro in Art

How Shall He Be Portrayed

A Symposium

WE have asked the artists of the world these questions:

1. When the artist, black or white, portrays Negro characters is he under any obligations or limitations as to the sort of character he will portray?
2. Can any author be criticized for painting the worst or the best characters of a group?
3. Can publishers be criticized for refusing to handle novels that portray Negroes of education and accomplishment, on the ground that these characters are no different from white folk and therefore not interesting?
4. What are Negroes to do when they are continually painted at their worst and judged by the public as they are painted?
5. Does the situation of the educated Negro in America with its pathos, humiliation and tragedy call for artistic treatment at least as sincere and sympathetic as "Porgy" received?
6. Is not the continual portrayal of the sordid, foolish and criminal among Negroes convincing the world that this and this alone is really and essentially Negroid, and preventing white artists from knowing any other types and preventing black artists from daring to paint them?
7. Is there not a real danger that young colored writers will be tempted to follow the popular trend in portraying Negro character in the underworld rather than seeking to paint the truth about themselves and their own social class?

Here are some answers. More will follow:

I think like this: What's the use of saying anything—the true literary artist is going to write about what he chooses anyway regardless of outside opinions. You write about the intelligent Negroes; Fisher about the unintelligent. Both of you are right. Walpool pictures the better class Englishman; Thomas Burke the sailors in Limehouse. And both are worth reading. It's the way people look at things, not what they look at, that needs to be changed.

LANGSTON HUGHES.

Are white publishers justified in rejecting novels dealing with the lives of cultivated colored people? If they publish mediocre white novels and reject mediocre colored novels, it is hard on a few colored writers, but should not the rest of us thank our stars that we are spared at least some of the poor books of the world? For surely, whatever the subject of the novel, it should be rejected if it is a mediocre book, and will not be rejected if it is really a powerful one; we may be sure that in the end a work of genius will find some form of publication.

This is the obvious answer to the crucial question in the questionnaire of THE CRISIS—indeed, an answer too obvious to be satisfactory. Complex problems cannot be solved in this airy way. For a novel, and in fact every other kind of book, is two things: It may be considered a contribution to the *literature* of the world or as a contribution to the *culture* of a race. The problems are so different that THE CRISIS questionnaire would demand a totally different set of answers in each case. From the standpoint of the critic, there is only one answer to the question as to what should be done with a mediocre book; but from the standpoint of Negro culture it may be important that some writers should get a hearing, even if their books are comparatively poor. The culture of a race must have a beginning, however simple; and imperfect books are infinitely better than a long era of silence. If the white publisher hesitates, on the ground that it is his business to be a publisher and not a champion of Negro culture, colored brains should create colored periodicals. The world will not close its ears to the voice of a great writer merely because of the imprint on the title-page.

The tendency today is to overestimate rather than underestimate colored books because of their subject, their delightfully exotic material. Their writers are valued by some people, as Dr. Johnson said of the first women preachers, not because they preached well but because of the surprise that they could preach at all. This will soon pass away; nothing disappears so quickly as a fashion in the subject of books. Great books may be made out of any subject under the sun; and colored writers will more and more have to depend not on their

subjects but on their own excellence. In the meanwhile they should realize that all of the complex problems of literature cannot be magically solved by a childish formula like that of "art versus propaganda". They must understand that a book may be of high value to a race's culture without being of high rank in the world's literature, just as a man may be a very useful citizen yet a rather mediocre dentist. The Negro race should not sniff at the *Uncle Tom's Cabins* and the *Jungles* of its own writers, which are instruments of progress as real as the ballot-box, the school-house or a stick of dynamite.

J. E. SPINGARN.

It is unfortunate, it seems to me, that at the very time when Negro writers are beginning to be heard there should arise a division of opinion as to what or what not he should write about. Such a conflict, however, is, I suppose, to be expected. There are those who say that the only interesting material in Negro lives is in the lives of the lower or lowest classes—that upper class Negro life is in no wise different from white life and is therefore uninteresting.

I venture to question the truth of this statement. Like all other people who have struggled against odds, upper class Negroes have through that very struggle sharpened their sensitiveness to the intense drama of race life in the United States. They never come into contact with the outside world but there is potential drama, whether of comedy or tragedy, in each of those contacts. By this I do not mean simply unpleasant aspects of the lives of these people. This sensitiveness to pain and insult and tragedy has its compensation in a keener awareness and appreciation of the rhythmic beauty and color and joyousness which is so valuable a part of Negro life.

The lives of so-called upper class Negroes have advantages as literary material, judged even by the most arbitrary standards. "Babbitt" or "Jean Christophe" or any other novel is interesting in direct proportion to the ability of the writer to depict impingement of events and experiences, trivial or great, on the more or less sensitive photographic plates which are the minds of the characters. Life for any Negro in America has so many different aspects that there is unlimited material for the novelist or short story writer. For the reasons I have already given, there is no lack of this material among upper class Negroes if one only has the eye to see it.

Suppose we carry this objection to the utilization of experiences of educated Negroes to its logical conclusion. Would not the result be this: Negro writers should not write, the young Negro is told, of educated Negroes because their lives paralleling white lives are uninteresting. If this be true, then it seems just as reasonable to say that all writers, white or colored, should abandon all sources of material save that of lower class Negro life. Manifestly this is absurd. It makes no difference, it seems to me, what field a writer chooses if he has the gift of perception, of dramatic and human material and the ability to write about it.

Those who would limit Negro writers to depiction of lower class Negro life justify their contention by saying, "The artist must have the right to choose his material where he will; and the critic can judge him only by the artistic result." These same persons often nullify or negative their contention for freedom by following this assertion immediately with insistence that the Negro writer confine himself to one field. The Negro writer, just like any other writer, should be allowed to write of whatever interests him whether it be of lower, or middle, or upper class Negro life in America; or of white—or Malay—or Chinese—or Hottentot characters and should be judged not by the color of the writer's skin but solely by the story he produces.

I, myself, have not as yet written extensively of prostitutes or gamblers or cabaret habitues. Fortunately, or unfortunately, my life thus far has not given me as intimate a knowledge of these classes as I feel would be necessary for me to write about them. I am not boasting of this innocence, if one chooses to call it that. I am merely stating it as a fact. An honest craftsman, in my opinion, can only pour his knowledge and experience, real or imagined, through the alembic of his own mind and let the creations of his subjective or objective self stand or fall by whatever literary standards are current at the time. I do not mean that Zola or Flaubert had to live as "Nana" or "Emma Bovary" did to achieve subjective treatment of these char-

acters—such obviously being a physical impossibility. But Zola *did* find himself drawn to write of the experiences of his character "Nana", as did Flaubert to the luckless "Emma". Certainly we could not have condemned either Zola or Flaubert if they had chosen instead to depict women less carnal minded.

To summarize specifically, it seems to me that:

1. The artist should be allowed full freedom in the choice of his characters and material.

2. An artist can rightly be criticized if he portrays only the worst or only the best characters of any group. (I, myself, was lambasted most enthusiastically by the South because Kenneth Harper in "The Fire in the Flint" seemed to me much more intelligent and decent than any of his white fellow townsmen.)

3. Publishers can and should be criticized for refusing to handle manuscripts, *provided they have merit*, that portray Negroes of superior talent because the lives of these Negroes do not vary from white people's.

4. When Negroes are painted only at their worst and judged accordingly by the public, Negroes must write stories revealing the other side and make these stories of such excellence that they command attention. (This is not an advertisement but in this same connection more Negroes must buy books by Negro writers for then sales will cause publishers actively to seek Negro writers of ability.)

5. The situation of the Negro in America *is* pregnant enough in drama and color and beauty to make of him a subject for artistic treatment.

6. Continual portrayal of any type to the exclusion of all others is not only harmful but bad art.

7. If young Negro writers can be saved or, better, save themselves from too hostile or too friendly critics, editors, publishers or public, from spending all their time and energy in restricted areas, they can have the freedom to explore whatever fields to which their fancy or inclination draws them.

In brief, sycophants and weaklings will follow whatever trend is mapped out for them; genuine artists will write or paint or sing or sculpt whatever they please.

WALTER WHITE.

I have yours of January 22 and will try to answer your questions promptly and briefly.

1. No.
2. No.
3. This question seems to me to be senseless.
4. To write books—fiction and non-fiction—to supply the deficiency.
5. Yes.
6. I doubt it.
7. I doubt it.

ALFRED A. KNOPF.

I feel that the Negro should be treated by himself and by others who write about him with just as little self-consciousness as possible. Realizing how untrue Octavius Roy Cohen's stories may be, they have amused me immensely, nor do they mean to me any very great libel on the Negro—any more than an amusing story about the Yankee would seem to me a libel on myself.

On the other hand, I have always thought that Walter White's novel was a trifle one sided, although I realize that I speak as one who does not truly know conditions in the South.

It therefore seems to me that although I realize it is inevitable under the circumstances that this discussion should arise, you will have Negroes writing about the Negro as the Jews have written about the Jews in "Potash and Perlmutter" and other such things, and that racial characteristics are bound to be presented in burlesque as well as real drama; and that, as Mr. Van Vechten has pointed out, the creative spirit, even though it may not be classed as art, will always disregard moral issues such as these.

JOHN FARRAR.

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1. The only obligation or limitation that an artist should recognize is the truth.
2. He cannot be criticized unless he takes the worst as typical.
3. If a publisher takes the ground mentioned in this question, it would be absurd.
4. The Negroes must protest in print and must hope that by setting a good example in their lives they can correct the false impression.
5. Of course it calls for artistic treatment, sincere and sympathetic, but I have not read "Porgy".
6. There is a certain danger of this.
7. I think there might be a danger also here.

WILLIAM LYON PHELPS.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

FINANCIAL REPORT FOR 1925

In accordance with the custom of the N. A. A. C. P. since its foundation, the books of the N. A. A. C. P. and THE CRISIS have been carefully examined by expert accountants. We take pleasure in presenting herewith the detailed report made after examination of the books by Heaton, Cullinan and Helmus, Accountants and Auditors, 565 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Gentlemen:

Our examination of the books of account of the

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—General Department

has been completed for the year ended December 31, 1925. In connection therewith we have prepared and present herewith the following financial statements:

Exhibit A—Balance Sheet December 31, 1925

" B—Statement of Income and Expenses for the Year Ended December 31, 1925 (exclusive of Special Funds)

" C—Summary Statement of Special Funds for the Year Ended December 31, 1925

The cash transactions for the year are summarized as follows:

Balance January 1, 1925		
General Fund		$ 3,175.51
Special Funds		6,841.72
		$ 10,017.23
Receipts year 1925		
General Fund	$84,609.74	
Special Funds	43,089.23	127,698.97
		137,716.20
Disbursements year 1925		
General Fund	70,730.62	
Special Funds	20,008.83	90,739.45
Balance December 31, 1925		
General Fund	17,054.63	
Special Funds	29,922.12	$ 46,976.75

While a detailed audit of the accounts was not made, extensive tests were applied to determine the correctness and accuracy of the various entries.

There has been a decided shift in Balance Sheet items during the year, Condensed Comparative Balance Sheets at December 31, 1925 and 1924, as shown below, reflecting this change in financial position:

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Condensed Comparative Balance Sheets at December 31, 1925 and 1924

Assets	1925	1924
Cash	$46,926.75	$10,017.23
Accounts Receivable.	143.38	205.10
Inventories	55.50	105.50
Furniture and Fixtures (Net of Depreciation)	3,869.12	3,738.67
Total	$51,044.75	$14,066.50
Liabilities		
Special Funds	29,922.12	6,841.72
Accounts Payable ...		251.82
	29,922.12	7,093.54
Net Worth		
Balance January 1st.	6,972.96	2,176.48
Net Gain for Year ..	14,149.67	9,149.44
Balance December 31st	$21,122.63	$ 6,972.96
Total Liabilities and Net Worth	$51,044.75	$14,066.50

The close of the year finds the Association in possession of rather large amounts available for its work. More than $25,000 is held for legal defense needs. The requirement for the Detroit case, we are informed, exceeds that amount.

In our opinion the appended Balance Sheet, and Statement of Income and Expenses, correctly state the financial position of the General Department of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at December 31, 1925, and the financial operations for the year then ended.

Very truly yours,

(Signed)

HEATON, CULLINAN AND HELMUS.

EXHIBIT A

Balance Sheet December 31, 1925

ASSETS

Cash	
General Fund—including petty cash, etc.	$17,054.63

Anti-Lynching Fund	3,938.78	
Legal Defense Fund	25,366.26	
Amy E. Spingarn Prize Fund	600.00	
MacLean Memorial Fund	17.08	
Total		$46,976.75
Deferred Charge—Advance to employee for traveling expenses		143.38
Inventory—Branch files and cards—net of depreciation		55.50
Furniture and Fixtures—net of depreciation		3,869.12
Total assets		51,044.75

LIABILITIES

Special Funds:		
Anti-Lynching Fund	$ 3,938.78	
Legal Defense Fund	25,366.26	
Amy E. Spingarn Prize Fund	600.00	
MacLean Memorial Fund	17.08	
Total Liabilities		$29,922.12

NET WORTH

January 1, 1925	$ 6,972.96	
Net Gain for year 1925 per Statement of Income and Expenses	14,149.67	
Net Worth December 31, 1925		21,122.63
Total Liabilities and Net Worth		$51,044.75

EXHIBIT B

Statement of Income and Expenses (Exclusive of Special Funds) for the Year Ended December 31, 1925

Income			
Contributions			$22,685.36
Literature Sales			464.33
Membership:			
Branches (including Branch contributions)		$40,301.38	
Members at large		2,699.76	
			43,001.14
Total Income			66,150.83
Expenses			
Salaries:			
Administrative	$12,599.64		
Field	3,999.84		
Publicity	2,599.92		
Clerical	15,586.43		
Special (Auditing)	125.00		
Total		34,910.83	
Meetings		1,075.95	
Rent		2,920.08	
Light		114.57	
Telephone and telegraph		742.85	
Postage		3,219.17	
Printing		3,344.24	
Multigraphing		260.17	
Depreciation:			
Furniture and Fixtures	203.64		
Branch files and cards	50.00		
Total		253.64	
Advertising		59.90	
Traveling expenses		3,305.61	
Miscellaneous		1,794.15	
Total expenses			52,001.16
Net Gain for year per Exhibit			$14,149.67

EXHIBIT C

Summary Statement of Special Funds for the Year Ended December 31, 1925

Anti-Lynching Fund		
January 1, 1925—Undisbursed balance	$ 4,912.54	
Contribution received—year 1925	12.00	
	4,924.54	
Disbursements—year 1925	985.76	
December 31, 1925—Undisbursed balance		$ 3,938.78
Legal Defense Fund		
January 1, 1925—Undisbursed balance	1,068.93	
Contributions received—year 1925	42,477.23	
Transferred from Arkansas Legal Defense Fund	243.15	
	43,789.33	
Disbursements—year 1925	18,423.07	
December 31, 1925—Undisbursed balance		25,366.26
MacLean Memorial Fund		
January 1, 1925—Undisbursed balance		17.08
December 31, 1925—Undisbursed balance		17.08
Amy E. Spingarn Prize Fund		
January 1, 1925—Undisbursed balance	600.00	
Contributions received—year 1925	600.00	
	1,200.00	
Disbursements—year 1925	600.00	
December 31, 1925—Undisbursed balance		600.00
Arkansas Legal Defense Fund		
January 1, 1925—Undisbursed balance	243.15	
Balance transferred to Legal Defense Fund by order of Board of Directors	243.15	
December 31, 1925—Undisbursed balance		.....

Gentlemen:

In accordance with your instructions we have made an examination of the accounting records of

THE CRISIS

and in connection therewith submit the following financial statements:

Exhibit A—Balance Sheets, December 31, 1925 and 1924, and comparison.

" B—Statement of Income and Expenses for the Years Ended December 31, 1925 and 1924, and comparison.

We have made the usual verifications of items contained in the above statements.

For the first time in recent years the business operations have resulted in a loss. This is stated as $2,058.61. In addition, you have written down the value of the stock of the Black Swan Phonograph Company* in the amount of $600.00, making a total shrinkage of "net worth" of $2,658.61.

Assets have increased as follows:

Cash	$ 330.06
Accounts Receivable	601.81
Deferred Charges	151.43
	$1,083.30

Roughly, the management has been able to:

(1) Increase the assets by	$1,083.30
(2) Sustain the loss of	2,058.61
	$3,141.91

by

(1) Selling Liberty Bonds	$ 500.00
(2) Increasing use of credit (See increase in accounts payable, Exhibit A)	2,115.71
(3) Liquidating inventories	229.83
	$2,845.54

For a more complete analysis of the shift in balance sheet items, see the increases and decreases shown in the comparison on Exhibit A.

* Received as payment for advertisement.

As a basis for study of the operations of the enterprise, we have shown in Exhibit B the figures for 1925 in comparison with those of 1924. It will be noted that while income has decreased by $3,818.15, the expenses have decreased by $1,733.66, making a net difference in the result of operation between the two years amounting to $2,-084.49. Sufficient details are given to permit a rather careful study.

The following is a comparison of the ratio of expense to total income for the years 1925, 1924, 1923, 1922 and 1921:

	1925 %	1924 %	1923 %	1922 %	1921 %
Publishing expenses	38.18	33.94	32.29	30.79	39.54
Salaries	41.28	40.50	38.11	36.94	31.28
Sundry	20.15	20.05	18.82	16.94	17.75
Depreciation	.39	.37	.37	.36	.29
Provision for doubtful accounts	4.59	5.09	7.05	11.16	8.93
Moving Expenses			2.98		
Total	104.59	99.95	99.62	96.19	97.79
Profit or loss	4.59*	.05	.38	3.81	2.21
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

The following tabulation shows the standing of the Accounts Receivable as at December 31, 1925:

	Total	Agents	Advertisers
Total Balances, December 31, 1925	$15,489.63	$10,620.63	$4,869.00
Less: Reserve for doubtful accounts	6,600.00	4,000.00	2,600.00
Net per Balance Sheets	$ 8,889.63	$6,620.63	$2,269.00
Accounts over one year old	$5,976.35	$3,131.35	$2,845.00

It wil be noted that the reserve is about $700 greater than the total of accounts over one year old. The reserve represents a reasonable estimate of the amount uncollectible.

In our opinion, the attached Balance Sheet and Statement of Income and Expenses exhibit with substantial correctness the financial position of THE CRISIS as at December 31, 1925, and the result of its operations for the year then ended.

Very truly yours,

(Signed)

HEATON, CULLINAN AND HELMUS.

EXHIBIT A
BALANCE SHEET DECEMBER 31, 1925
ASSETS

Cash		
In Bank	$377.44	
On Hand	25.00	
Total		$402.44
Accounts Receivable:		
Advertisers	4,869.00	
Less: Reserve for Doubtful Accounts	2,600.00	
	2,269.00	
Agents	10,620.63	
Less: Reserve for Doubtful Accounts	4,000.00	
	6,620.63	
Due from Sale of Books	115.65	
Total Accounts Receivable		9,005.28
Total Current Assets		9,407.72
Inventories:		
Magazines	$400.00	
Paper in Transit	402.98	
Paper at Berkeley Press	100.62	
Books	110.36	
Total		1,013.96
Investments:		
Liberty Bonds	$1,000.00	
Black Swan Phonographic Stock	40.00	
Total		1,040.00
Deposit with Post Office		325.00
Deferred Charges:		
Printing and Paper, January, 1926 Issue	$1,241.18	
Stationery and Supplies	187.70	
Unexpired Insurance Premiums	21.32	
Total		1,450.20
Furniture and Fixtures:		
Net of Depreciation		3,370.07
		$16,606.95

LIABILITIES

Accounts Payable:		
Trade	$5,821.69	
Special Contribution "History of Negro in War"	83.25	
Total		$5,904.94
Advertisers' Credit Balances		667.00
Reserve for Unexpired Portion of Subscriptions		5,300.00
Total Liabilities		11,871.94
Net Worth:		
Balance beginning of year	$7,393.62	
Less:		
Decrease in valuation of Black Swan Phonograph Stock	$600.00	
Net Loss for year for Exhibit "B"	2,058.61	
	2,658.61	
Balance, end of year		4,735.01
		$16,606.95

EXHIBIT B
STATEMENTS OF INCOME AND EXPENSES
FOR THE YEAR ENDED
DECEMBER 31, 1925

			Percentages
Income:			
Sales, net of returns		$20,982.56	
Subscriptions		11,489.58	
Advertising		11,258.30	
Interest and Discount		46.61	
Interest on Liberty Bonds		76.07‡	
Book Department Profit		791.21	
Krigwa Income		203.00	
Total Income		$44,847.33	100
Expenses:			
Publishing:			
Paper	$5,122.36		
Printing	10,214.59		
Engraving	1,785.31		
Total		17,122.26	38.18
Salaries:			
Executive	$8,600.00		
Office	9,910.83		
Total		18,510.83	41.28
Sundry:			
Postage	$2,674.37		
Rent	2,079.96		
Stationery and Supplies	586.41		
Telephone and Telegraph	237.88		
Insurance	41.09		
General Expense	979.29		

* Loss.
‡ Includes small premium on bonds sold.

Advertising	1,238.23			
Editorial	489.59			
Addressograph stencils, paper, etc.	711.98			
Total		9,038.80		20.15
Depreciation on Furniture and Fixtures		177.37		.39
Bad Debts written off—Agents	$1,673.68			
Charged against reserve	.....			
Balance		1,673.68		
Bad Debts written off Advertisers....	383.00			
Charged against reserve	.....			
		383.00		
Total Expenses.....			$46,905.94	104.59
Net loss carried to Exhibit "A".....			$2,058.61	4.59

SPINGARN MEDAL

The Committee of Award, of which Bishop John Hurst is Chairman, is requesting that nominations for Spingarn Medallist for 1926 be forwarded to the Committee. Any person may make recommendations. The award is given annually to the American of African descent who has in the preceding year achieved greatest distinction in any field of elevated and honorable human endeavor. Recommendations should give a brief history of the person nominated and a succinct but detailed account of the accomplishment or accomplishments which, in the opinion of the person making the nomination, justifies consideration of the person nominated.

Recommendations should be addressed to Bishop John Hurst, Chairman of the Spingarn Medal Award Committee, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

THE CHICAGO CONFERENCE

The Chicago Branch of the N. A. A. C. P., headed by Dr. Herbert A. Turner, is actively at work to make the Seventeenth Annual Conference of the N. A. A. C. P. to be held in that city June 23-29 the largest and most successful in the history of the Association. All of the Conference Committees have been appointed and are actively functioning. A number of the most distinguished citizens in America have been invited to speak and a number of them have already accepted. In addition to the mass meetings and business sessions, a considerable number of social affairs are being planned for the entertainment of delegates and members attending the Conference.

Because of its location and its many attractions, the attendance at the Conference this year will undoubtedly be the largest of any meeting yet held. Branches of the Association are urged to choose their delegates as soon as possible and to notify the National Office not only of the delegates who have been chosen but of all other members who will be with us at Chicago. The program cannot be printed until the National Office knows definitely who will attend so that the names of the speakers can be put upon the program. This year we want to be able to print the program and distribute a considerable number of them to individuals and newspapers a considerable time in advance of the opening of the Conference. We will therefore appreciate the notification of the National Office of all persons who plan being in Chicago for the Conference.

The Ring

LANGSTON HUGHES

LOVE is the master of the ring
And life a circus tent.
What is this silly song you sing?
Love is the master of the ring.

I am afraid!
Afraid of Love
And of love's bitter whip!
Afraid,
Afraid of Love
And Love's sharp, stinging whip.

What is this silly song you sing?
Love is the master of the ring.

The Horizon

¶ The Sumner High School of St. Louis is looking for a teacher of music. It has 1600 pupils. Persons interested should write to W. J. S. Bryan, Assistant Superintendent of Education, St. Louis.

¶ The Catholic Church in 250 years has ordained 8 Negro priests in the United States. Father Norman Duckett, the eighth, was ordained in February.

¶ DeHart Hubbard now holds the world record for the running broad jump and the 65-yard dash.

¶ The Colored schools of East St. Louis have far surpassed the white schools in the percentage of pupils who are depositing in the school banks. Many of them have 100 per cent of depositors.

¶ The employee representative plan has been launched by the Pullman Company to forestall the Pullman Porter Union. An advance of 10 per cent in wages has been granted which makes the lowest wage at starting $72.50 a month, and the highest wage after service $104 a month. The highest wage is far below the living expenses of a head of a family.

¶ Mrs. Annie E. Malone of St. Louis has purchased the former home of E. C. Brown, the Philadelphia banker.

¶ The Fifteenth Annual Conference of the National Urban League was held in New York City.

¶ Older boys' conferences under the Young Men's Christian Association have been held throughout the country.

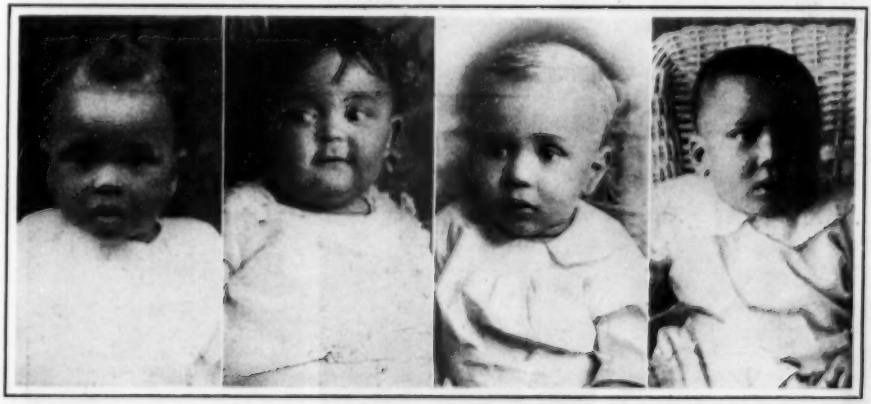
¶ Paul L. Williams of Los Angeles has been made treasurer and member of the executive committee of the association of architects in that city. He is a widely known colored architect.

¶ Mrs. Mary Jane Dixon, one of the founders and vice-president of the Phyllis Wheatley Branch Y. W. C. A., St. Louis, is dead.

¶ Thomas E. Jones has been elected 5th President of Fisk University. He was born in Indiana and received his M.A. from Columbia in 1917. For 7 years he has been teaching in Japan. His wife is from Wilmington, Delaware, and a graduate of Wellesley.

¶ Richard V. Dickersohn won the second cup from the Colorado Scenery Art Club. He was the only colored contestant among 56.

¶ Tiger Flowers by whipping Harry Greb has become middle-weight champion of the world. Every effort has been made by the



N. A. A. C. P. PRIZE BABIES

Frances Gunn
2nd Prize, Greensboro, N. C.

Aurelia Walton
2nd Prize, Detroit, Mich.

James W. Allen, Jr.
Prize Baby, Chicago, Ill.

Russell M. Trevlyan
1st Prize, El Paso, Texas

TIGER FLOWERS
and his Nieces

newspapers throughout the country to minimize this victory but perhaps the dirtiest thing was done by Hearst's *Daily Mirror*, New York, which gave three-fourths of a whole page to the public hanging of a Negro in Delaware and one-fourth of the same page, at the bottom, to the Flowers-Greb fight.

¶ The National Congress of British West Africa held its third session at Bathurst, Gambia, British West Africa, December 24, 1925, to January 10, 1926. They heard reports of officers, adopted a permanent constitution and had addresses by the Hon. Casely Hayford, M.B.E., the Bishop of Sierre Leone, the Hon. E. S. Beoku Petts and others. Among the subjects discussed were education, commercial enterprise, self-determination, the press, sanitary and medical reforms.

¶ A porter who served five presidents in their journeys across the continent, Spencer Murray, is dead in Washington at the age of 67. He had made trips with Presidents Harrison, Cleveland, McKinley, Taft and Roosevelt. He also had charge of the car in which Admiral Dewey traveled across the continent on his return from Manila.

¶ During thrift week in Lexington, Kentucky, 11 white and 5 colored schools had an essay contest for 6 prizes offered by the Y. M. C. A. Three of the prizes, one 1st and two 2nd, were won by students of the colored schools. Marian Hogan won 2nd prize in the senior high schools, Ethelda Jackson won 1st prize in the junior high schools and Mattie Carter won 2nd prize in the elementary schools. Mr. W. H. Fouse, supervisor of colored schools, introduced the thrift idea and during the past 11 years the pupils of the Dunbar High School have deposited nearly $11,000 in the school bank. This school has also a "Dunbar Protective Insurance Company".

Marian Hogan
1st year, Senior High
2nd Prize

Ethelda Jackson
2nd year, Junior High
1st Prize

Mattie Carter
5th grade
2nd Prize

AT TANGIERS

The Sultan rides to the Mosque

B. C. CYRUS

¶ Bindley C. Cyrus was born in the British West Indies in 1898 and educated at St. Mary's College and at Harrison College. He came to the United States at the age of 16, received his B.S. from Lewis Institute in Chicago and entered the Rush Medical College of the University of Chicago. Afterward he transferred to the law school. He was a member of the debating team of the University of Chicago which met Cambridge, England, University in November. He was one of the four chosen from 35 candidates and remained on the team when it was reduced to three.

¶ A colored man, Ed Harris, of low mentality and no education is said to have been engaged in bootlegging with a white man in Lexington, Kentucky. They fell out about the division of the profits and the Negro in a drunken rage killed the white man and his two children and wounded and assaulted his wife. He was caught by another colored man and turned over to the officers of the law on their promise to give him a fair trial. At great expense he was protected from lynching by the militia, convicted in 16 minutes and executed March 3. A fund for Mrs. Bryant, the widow, is being raised, to which the colored people have contributed more than $700.

¶ The colored Order of Elks has established a department of education and ordered the raising of a scholarship fund by an annual tax of 20 cents on the whole membership of the order. W. C. Hueston of Gary, Indiana, is Commissioner.

¶ The Phi Delta Kappa Sorority, organized in 1923, for school teachers, held its second annual convention in New York City. Miss Gladys W. Cannon was elected president and Miss Mildred V. Morris, corresponding secretary.

¶ George Hall, Negro janitor in a New York apartment house, lost his life in an attempt to save the 9 year old daughter of a tenant. The little girl entered the car with two small companions and started the lever, sending it upward. Hall, knowing that the children could not stop the car, caught hold of the bottom of the elevator as it shot upward, hoping to stop it. Attempting to land on the 4th floor, he lost his footing and crashed to the bottom of the elevator pit. The children were uninjured.

¶ A new colored Funeral Supply House has been established in Springfield, Ohio. Charles L. Johnson, its promoter, has had a unique experience in this line of work, having held a position of Factory Manager for one of the leading firms manufacturing funeral products in this country.

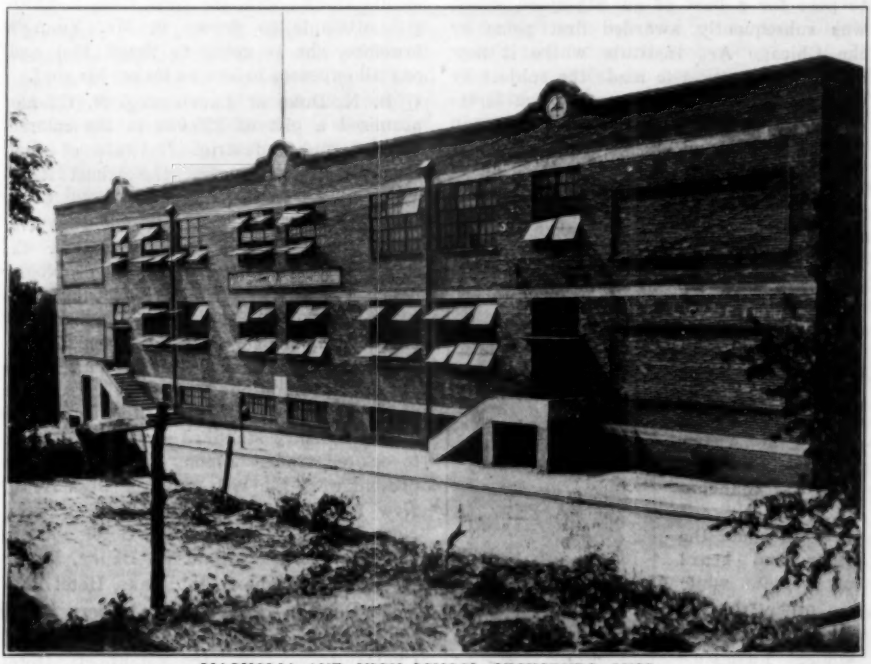
¶ Rufus P. Turner, a young colored man born in Texas, has constructed the smallest radio receiving set known in the world. It weighs less than an ounce. He has installed and is operating a broadcasting station in St. Augustine's Church, Washington.

R. P. TURNER

¶ When he was 17 years of age Captain C. W. Posey of Homestead, Pa., was working on a ferry boat plying between Bellaire, Ohio, and Parkersburg, W. Va. He was then only a chore boy but his knowledge of steam boat engineering became so remarkable that as the years went on he was employed by the Seaward Hayes Corporation, owners of coal mines, tow boats and steam boats. Soon he was in charge of 75 engineers, attending personally to all repairs on the entire fleet of boats. His remarkable knowledge brought him to the attention of the Board of Inspectors of the United States Government; he was granted a first class license and the positions first of Chief Engineer of Steam Navigation, then Master of Transportation of the Diamond Coal and Coke Company and superintendent of coal mines on the Monongahela River. He also engaged in boat building. He had many interests in civic and business organizations and gave much time to philanthropic activities. He was 65 years old at the time of his death and is survived by a widow and three children.

¶ A colored woman, Ellen Davis, 80 years old and once a slave, has become one of the wealthiest women of her race in the South. She was bequeathed $250,000 by John T. Hughes, a noted turfman of Lexington, Kentucky. Hughes, whose housekeeper she was, was the father of her son Robert Henry Hughes.

¶ The late John J. Groves of Kansas City merited his well-known title of "potato king". His fame began 20 years ago with the production of 72,150 bushels of white potatoes in one season, more by 10,000 than any other individual grower at the time had produced. Mr. Groves was born a slave in Kentucky in 1859. He began work in 1879 as farm laborer at 40 cents a day in Edwardsville, Kansas. By 1880 he had cleared a profit of $125.00 on white and sweet potatoes. By 1884 he was managing 66 acres. In 1914 his farm of 503 acres was valued at from $250 to $350 per acre. On his estate there were seven houses, one for each of his married children. He invented a power potato sorter which screens and sorts a car load of potatoes an hour.



MAGNOLIA AVE. HIGH SCHOOL, VICKSBURG, MISS.

He was a trustee of the State Industrial Department of Western University and a Mason.

¶ Miss Ada Gaines, who played the part of Ethiopia in the pageant directed by Dr. DuBois in Los Angeles, is appearing in a Fox motion picture production called "The Winding Stair". She plays the part of a Moorish maid. Alma Rubens and Edmund Lowe are the stars. Miss Gaines is an unusual type. Some time ago she was chosen by Hester Bramer, a well-known sculptor, to pose for a bust of an Ethiopian which was subsequently awarded first prize by the Chicago Art Institute where it now stands. She was also made the subject by the same sculptor of a second piece forty-eight feet high to be placed in Washington Square, in Chicago.

¶ If a colored man sees a white girl drowning what should he do?

That is what A. M. Young saw at Ocean City last June. He was up on the roof working in his everyday clothes and noticed two young women in the ocean bathing. Glancing again he saw one go down under the water and heard her scream while the other ran up the beach. Mr. Young jumped through a window, rushed down stairs, slipped off his shoes and ran into the water. The girl had been swept down the beach.

A. M. YOUNG

Meantime the other girl, appealing to a group of white bathers, had induced one man to attempt a rescue. The man tried and failed, while Mr. Young swam out and rescued both man and woman. The doctor came with a pulmotor and the two were revived. Then all the white folk went off. To this day they have not even thanked Young although it cost him seven dollars to get the water out of his watch and he spoiled a perfectly good suit of clothes. "I saw the man last week. He came in bathing where I was. After he recognized me he left and went further up the beach."

Of course by all the rules of the game the rescued damsel should have grabbed Mr. Young's neck and insisted on immediate marriage. Frankly, Mr. Young was neither expecting nor desiring this. But he did think—well, the next time a white girl attempts to drown in Mr. Young's presence, she is going to thank him and pay all expenses before he leaves his roof.

¶ B. N. Duke of Laurinburg, N. C., has promised a gift of $25,000 to the colored Normal and Industrial Institute of that town on condition that the school itself must raise a similar amount.

¶ Joseph I. Greenlease, proprietor of the new Liberty Hotel, Washington, D. C., called a meeting of the owners of Negro hotels recently, in Washington, at which 23 proprietors were present. The convention took up the subjects of coöperation, advertising, improved service, the cultivation of the traveling public of the Negro race and the need of a united effort toward a higher sanitary standard of hotels catering to colored trade. Among the hotel people present were Ed. Wilson of the Olga Hotel, New York; Mrs. Annie Press, Hotel Press, New York; N. B. Patten, Hotel Patten, Omaha, Nebraska; Sam W. Bailey, Bailey Hotel, Pittsburgh; C. H. Banks, Hotel Biltmore, Detroit; H. R. Martin, Modern Hotel, Chattanooga, Tenn.; J. T. Dent, Hotel Dent, Chattannooga; W. H. Litchford, Hotel Litchford, Columbus, O.; G. W. Waddy, Hotel Waddy, West Baden, Ind.; J. D. Jewett, Hotel Sterling, Cincinnati; Sam Stuart, Hotel Pleasant, Toledo; Mrs. Anna Sanders, Taylor's Hotel, Columbia, S. C.; C. Jones, Royal Palace Hotel, Baltimore, Md.; R. N. Ware, Ware's Hotel, Highland Beach, N. J.; Mary Golden, Hotel Golden, Colton, Md., and Sam Glover, Hotel Glover; R. W. Robinson, Hotel Whitelaw, and Mr. Meggenson, New Summit Hotel, Washington.

¶ Mrs. Georgia Douglas Johnson is employed in the United States Department of Labor.

Florida Public Schools

How Negro Children Fare In This Rich State

WILLIAM McKINLEY MENCHAN, A.B.

IT was during the first week in the New Year that I visited my native state for the first time in five years. On leaving Cordele, Georgia, where I had spent the Christmas holidays, I went to Jacksonville, Florida, the city in which I completed my high school training.

My stay in Jacksonville was very short, therefore I did not get chance to make an adequate inquiry into the public school situation in the city of Jacksonville and Duval County, but the general impression received by me was that the situation is deplorable. The number of Negro schools is not sufficient to meet the demands of an increasing population. There are some communities with large populations which have no schools at all. The children have to attend school in other distant communities, or not at all. Many of the schools are far from being ideally located. Some of these schools are not surrounded by wholesome physical environments. Many of the buildings are poor, inadequate, unsanitary and in a dilapidated condition; some are merely old buildings formerly used for white children. Part time instruction is quite prevalent and the compulsory education law is not enforced so far as colored children are concerned. The colored teachers are poorly paid and the majority of them not adequately trained. There is but one public high school for colored children in Duval County and this is also the leading colored high school in the state, with the exception of the high school department of the State College at Tallahassee. This building is a beautiful, modernly equipped structure but the curriculum, however, is not up to standard; and the most regrettable fact is that the principal of this school is not of suitable calibre.

We pass now to Marion County, in which I was born. The rural school situation so far as colored children are concerned is worse here than in Duval County. The buildings are poor and inadequate and are mostly of the one-room type. These schools are also far apart and function for only three months a year. One teacher often teaches two and three schools successively. The teachers of these rural schools are for the most part insufficiently trained. Some of them have never gone any further than the fifth grade.

There is no colored high school in Marion County but there is a junior high school at Ocala, the county seat, which carries two years of high school work. The present principal is a splendid young man, intelligent, well educated and refined, who has been successful in gathering around him a fairly well trained faculty. There are between 800 and 900 pupils in this school, but only 15 teachers.

In contrast to the rural school teachers of the county, the teachers of this school are working at a sacrifice, for their preparation could easily demand better pay for their services elsewhere, but their salaries are extremely poor. In order to keep them the citizens have to supplement the salaries of the manual training instructor and the athletic coach. This school is supposed to run eight months a year, but one year the term was cut to seven months. It is housed in two frame buildings of two stories each, one of which has never been finished, although the structure was begun about ten or eleven years ago; the equipment is inadequate and the Board of Education will not appropriate funds for enhancing it. The buildings are heated by wood-burning stoves. At times the pupils have to go to the suburbs of the town and gather wood in order to be able to heat the buildings, for the County Superintendent sometimes refuses to pay for wood ordered by the principal. The superintendent is an extremely young man of the bourbon Southern type and he pays little or no attention to the demands of colored citizens in regard to their schools.

The public school conditions in Duval and Marion Counties are not different to those in other counties of the state. In some counties, the rural schools run only two months. In the whole state of Florida there are only six public high schools for colored children and none of these is accredited. In my opinion, the public school situation for colored children in Florida is steadily deteriorating.

The Little Page

Things That Children Will Love and Learn; a Contribution of Poetry and Information

EFFIE LEE NEWSOME

CALENDAR CHAT

MARCH has just scurried off to the rest home of the seasons, as though such a frolicker could ever settle down to rest! And yet March did something more than romp when he was at large. I see signs of this everywhere.

He started potentilla shepherd's-purse to growing, also the chalk-white bloodroots, spring beauties in lavender white and rose and liverworts all over the bogs.

When I, April, came, I swung the scarlet and green samaras on mountain maples, the green and bronze catkins on poplar trees. But I have since puffed away these swinging seeds that they may bury themselves in the earth and some day become mighty trees. I have brought leaves to the maples and poplars now.

After being here seventeen days I opened peach blossoms. And eight days later unwrapped the buds on the pear trees. I unfolded the cherry blossoms next—I had been working among the orchards and groves twenty-five days then—and put buds on the wistarias. Then I opened the pink balls on the apple trees and revealed snow-white blooms streaked with crimson. The hickory buds are unbound and so are the wonderful leaf packets that grow on the buckeye trees. The red sheaths are thrown back from each blossom and a fringe of spiral green leaves hangs out. How splendid the buckeye is in its budding!

I have spoken of buds rather than birds in this chat of mine although the birds are spending their busiest days when I am here. The ancient Romans however named me not April but Aprilis from their word *to open* and the gentle unfolding of buds rather than the opening of the birds' concert season was what they had in mind. Aprilis, by the way, is a prettier name than April, don't you think so?

LADYBUGS

NOW, Ladybugs, as you will see,
Are varnished up quite carefully
And water doesn't hurt the stain;
I've often met them wet with rain.

GROSBEAK

GROSBEAK, it seems to me,
Spoiled all his nice white vest
With juice of blackberry,
As soon as he got dressed.

GUINEA CLOTHES

THE tidy Guineas, don't you know?
Look like they're dressed in calico,
Gray with white specks all here and there,
Just like my grandma used to wear.

THE SATISFIED SWIFTS

SOME chimney Swifts swirled overhead
One pleasant April day.
Their busy actions plainly said,
"We're here to build and stay.

"We cannot tramp like Redbreast there,
But, my! we're nimble in the air.
We don't dig food in Flicker style,
And yet we're feasting all the while.

"Flying to catch the bugs that fly
And make our lunch here in the sky.
We don't sing like the birds in trees,
But we can whistle, we can wheeze.

"Poor Meadow Lark warbles and sings,
But, my! He's hardly any wings.
Though Thrasher's coat is brilliant bay,
We're glad to have our sooty gray.

"His yellow eyes look brass-like, cheap.
Our eyes are dark and rich and deep.
Of all of Nature's kindly gifts,
First thank her, please, for making Swifts!"

SPRING CLEANING

"HOUSE cleaning time has come again", thinks the little red mountain squirrel.

And he begins to haul all the neatly bored walnut hulls from his cave in the hillside, hurrying back and forth, back and forth to rid the hole of trash. He must have had a royal winter, feasting on all those great solid walnuts with their rich kernels! You know how delicious black walnuts are in candy. Red squirrel was satisfied with the nutriment of the nuts. He does not eat

candy. Perhaps that is why his teeth are so fine and strong.

Did you know that squirrels weigh very carefully in their "hands" or fore paws every nut that they gather from the groves in autumn? They never make the mistake of storing faulty goods in their winter pantries. They do not need to fear food shortage while winter storms are raging outside. Red mountain squirrel in summertime occupies a treeside cottage—perhaps on the *beech!*

Zion in Africa

An Open Letter on Missions in West Africa by a Native Christian

Secondee, Gold Coast, West Africa

THE world in which we live needs real leaders who have consecrated their lives for the uplift of humanity. Today men who were once blind have had their eyes opened to look through the glass, whether they are standing or falling. The question that has been asked by the prominent people of the Gold Coast of all races is "Why have the members of the A.M.E. Zion Church of the Gold Coast given themselves to be ridiculed by the public?"

They ask this question for the reason that the Church in America has not fulfilled her promises from time to time for the support of the work. Bishop Walters came to the Gold Coast and promised to awaken the entire church in America to a realization of the financial difficulties in the field and the big opportunty; but when he got back to America, the promise was not fulfilled. Bishop Woods also came to the Gold Coast and promised to bring to the attention of the Home Church in America the financial situation of the work of the Gold Coast and assured the Church at Cape Coast that he would see that the grants in aid of the foreign work were sent regularly; but when he got to America he buried his promise and never thought of the good people in Africa. In 1922 and 1923 Dr. W. W. Matthews made a brief visit to Africa and visited Quittah and Cape Coast but was unable to go round to the outstations. According to his figures his trip to Africa cost $4,799.14. When he reached Cape Coast where the Annual Conference was convening, he could not wait to hear of their hardships and struggles which they had encountered from time to time for the spread of the work, but proceeded to insult them by saying that he had not entered into any agreement with them, hence he did not owe them. When the people got annoyed he quoted St. John Chapter 16, verse 7, and assured the people that he would go and "send the Comforter," which is the grant in aid of the work. For one and a half years the people waited without seeing or hearing from the "Comforter"; and so in 1924 they voted to withdraw, to

find a Comforter from another denomination whose supervision with financial support was calculated to be helpful to the growing and much struggling missionary field. In 1924, Rev. C. C. Alleyne, Editor of the *Quarterly Review*, was appointed Resident Bishop of Africa and landed at Gold Coast some time in January. When he got to Quittah he was informed that the West Gold Coast Conference had really withdrawn from the A.M.E. Zion connection.

On the 31st of December, 1924, Professor J. E. K. Aggrey met the Committee of Withdrawal by special appointment and offered to plead on behalf of Zion connection in America and begged the committee to suspend further action in the withdrawal movement in order to permit Bishop Alleyne on his arrival to place before the special Committee through Professor Aggrey certain reforms or better and healthier proposals for the future satisfactory conduct of the missionary work in the West Gold Coast Conference. The understanding was Conference should have the option, of course, to accept or reject the Bishop's proposal.

The Special Committee realizing the wisdom of giving such an opportunity did accept Professor Aggrey's offers and overtures and therefore Professor Aggrey with the prominent members of the Gold Coast gathered at Mrs. Ampiah's hall to witness the terms and proposals placed before the Committee, and advised the members of the West Gold Coast Conference to receive the Bishop and to give him an opportunity.

The Bishop after the meeting travelled extensively through the territory of the West Gold Coast Conference and found that the conference was in a very bad condition financially and promised to give the Home Church a comprehensive report and to do all he could to awaken the Home Church to the needs of the Gold Coast Conference. During the annual conference held at Cape Coast the Bishop sent six cables to America with no reply from the ard of Bishops or the Foreign Mission Board.

About three months ago Mrs. Francis, one of the American missionaries who came with the Bishop to the Gold Coast, was seriously ill, and therefore was invalided by the Government Medical Doctor and was advised to go back to America. Seven cables were sent to the Board of Foreign Missions in America by the husband, Rev. Taylor, the church, and the white people in Winneba, for some money to defray her passage to America, with not a single word in reply; at last the Manager of the Bank of British West Africa in Winneba also cabled and the next day the sum of $500 was received and Mrs. Francis and her son were despatched to America. The white and the native Africans of the Gold Coast have realized that the A.M.E. Zion Church cannot do missionary work on the Gold Coast.

A few years ago one Rev. Thomas Davis was sent as a missionary to Liberia, but resigned and joined the Liberian Government in consequence of the disappointment given him by the Foreign Mission Board. One Rev. Garland was sent to Liberia with his wife and also resigned.

If the A.M.E. Zion Church in America cannot support their missionaries who have been sent to Africa, how much less can they support the work in Africa? They have promised to send grant in aid of the work and failed; they have promised to pay their missionaries who have been sent to the field and also failed. This is not the fault of Bishop Alleyne, but the fault of the Foreign Mission Board.

Does the A.M.E. Zion Church expect the American Missionaries to live on stones and grass? It is advisable for the A.M.E. Zion Church to stop missionary work in the Gold Coast, rather than to starve the workers in the field.

PHILLIP JAO DJAN.

[We do not know Mr. Djan, nor have we any proof of the facts he alleges; but a prominent member of the A.M.E.Z. Church who knows the facts assures us that the letter ought to be published.

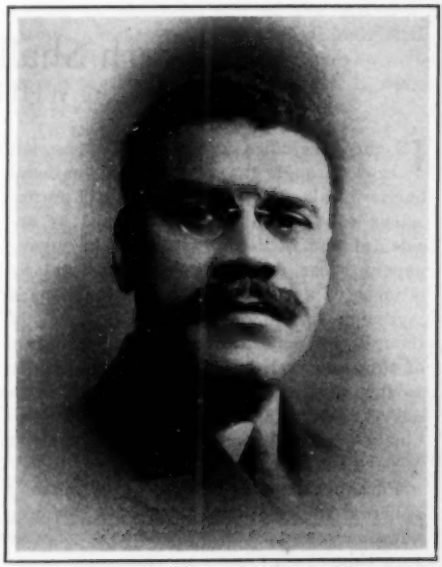
Meantime there comes to us through the weekly press the extraordinary story of Bishop W. Sampson Brooks who represents the African M. E. Church in Liberia. It is said that Bishop Brooks has not received from his church the funds promised for his support and that he has actually been in danger of prosecution for debt. He is now in this country seeking to adjust matters and secure funds.

What is the truth about this situation? What is the matter with the missionary departments of the Negro churches? The Editor will be glad to learn through communications from them or from elsewhere.]

Dantes Bellegarde

International Spokesman of Black Folk

HAITI has a great man whose years do not as yet number fifty but who has in that comparatively brief space of time become Haitian minister to France, Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration of the Hague, Member of the Commission of Experts on Slavery and Forced Labor operating in connection with the Council of the League of Nations, Commander of the French Legion of Honor and international spokesman of the Negroes of the World. M. Dantes Bellegarde was born in Port-au-Prince and educated and trained there for the law. Practice in his profession did not appeal to him though strangely enough teaching along the lines of his calling did. He began his career with a position in the High School of his native city, later becoming, by successive steps, professor in the Law School, professor of Industrial Economy in the School of Applied Sciences and finally Chief of the Administration of Public Instruction.



DANTES BELLEGARDE

Advancement came swiftly. When the new National Bank of Haiti was founded, M. Bellegarde was made Chief of the Service. In 1914 under the administration of President Michel-Oreste he became head of the cabinet and in June, 1918, the President D'Artiguenave bestowed upon him the portfolio of Public Instruction. Here was an opportunity immediately embraced by M. Bellegarde for constructive work, and the schools of Haiti are still reaping the benefit of reforms which he inaugurated in primary, secondary, normal and even professional and college instruction.

In 1921 he was appointed Haitian Minister Plenipotentiary to Paris where he quickly gained recognition in both politics and literature. He was Haitian delegate from his own country to the second and third Assemblies of the League of Nations held at Geneva and it was his intercession with the tribunal at Geneva which provoked the well-known inquiry into the conduct of the South African Government in the matter of repression of the insurrection of the Bondelswartz. He was vice-president of the Second Pan-African Congress and presented their petition to the League of Nations. Upon his recall from France by President Borno, M. Bellegarde, whose stay had been requested by the French Government, received from the latter the insignia of a Commander of the Legion of Honor.

At the Congress of the International Union of the Association of the League of Nations held at Lyons in 1924, M. Bellegarde was delegated by his compatriots to set before this body the situation of Haiti with regard to the United States. This he accomplished with telling success.

Last September M. Bellegarde was sent as delegate to the Universal Peace Congress held at Paris. On this occasion he set forth the domestic and foreign conditions of Haiti, exposing the undemocratic methods of President Borno in his efforts to bring about his re-election in April, 1926. Borno, who is the American puppet, is counting on the co-operation of the United States Government. As a result of

this exposé and of other facts with reference to American misrule in Haiti adduced by an American delegate, the Peace Congress passed the following resolution:

"The Congress, considering that the existing state of affairs in Haiti jeopardizes the cause of peace, expresses its sympathy for the Haitian people and strongly desires the restoration of Haiti to the fullness of its national sovereignty."

More power to Dantes Bellegarde!

More shame to America in Haiti!

"The Truth Shall Make You Free"

BY A WHITE WOMAN

IS race prejudice an instinctive aversion bred through the centuries of artificial barriers, talked at one in the plastic unconscious days of childhood, intensified by accidental and deliberate propaganda—newspapers, books, drama, movies, industrial relationships and what not—or is it purely a myth assembled by man's laziness of thought, his superficial imitative acceptance of supposed realities? After all the answer to this question should be the key to methods of combating this if we indeed genuinely decide to combat it and salvage our modern souls.

Perhaps the story of a white person's spiritual and emotional battle with this deep question can unravel a few knots. Therefore this.

Born into a home of rare intellectual lucidity, broad humane concepts and unusual genuineness of word and deed, I went through the usual years of a fine private school education on into University life. The Negro was always a remote figure, abstract and unanalyzed and little thought about. Entering medical school I heard that an assistantship was offered to any student who had time to wash test tubes, and do blood counts, for a man doing research in the department of pathology. I asked for the job and the head of the department on outlining the work said "Dr. ——is one of the finest men I know. He is part colored; do you still want to do the work?" In a sudden rush of youthful warmheartedness I said, "Of course", and went to meet this brilliant young research worker with pity in my heart. Pity! I, a scatterbrained, halfbaked student with no solitary deed of worth to my name offering pity to a man whose brains and ideals and character were infinitely superior to mine!

I worked all summer, or rather loafed, shirking duty wherever I could and yet there were only patience and kindness to meet me. Out of this summer's contact a very beautiful friendship developed and as the years passed my mind slowly opened to many new notions. I was one bundle of contradictions—I hated the touch of a Negro hairdresser who had cared for me since babyhood, I hotly berated the officiousness of the Negro soldier in the wards of the hospital in which I was serving as interne. I enjoyed the maltreatment of Negroes in the South where my hospital was, and felt the animal hatred of the mob when a so-called rape story came within my hospital experience—but always I thought of my friend in the laboratory as different, more white than black, black by unlucky accident.

One day I received the wedding announcement of this man and on congratulating him he asked me to call. I was all of a sudden in hot water. In the laboratory among white people he was one thing, at home in the colored belt he was another and suddenly I saw what a loathesome thing my mind was. So I set my teeth and went to call, ready to go on the rack and learn the a b c of humanity of heart and not of words. I *was* on the rack, tortured by all the petty prejudices, but held secure by the genuineness of my regard for this man whom I had long recognized as vastly beyond and above me. I went to a concert with him hot with the consciousness of turned heads and staring eyes but feeling some of my self-detestation wear off.

All of the ten years of friendship with this man, rich and lovely as they had been were marred by one thing—we never talked race, the one vital truth for us to build on. Then one day quite naturally the barrier fell and the whole complex issue blended itself into life itself and was no longer an abstract theory to be merely speculated about.

I began to understand the non-white part of this man's soul, not as a minor happening but as more truly the very key to his depth and beauty of soul; I began to see the inside of Negro characters, their spiritual gifts, unique art, immense appreciation of fine ideals. It was like leaving a dark tortuous tunnel of blind stupidity and finding a marvelous Truth illuminated by the light of personal experiences. The Negro no longer seemed a being apart to be kindly considered and humanly treated because that was the thing to do; he seemed just another precious soul whose regard and respect for me was not to be expected but earned.

It was joy, pure spontaneous joy gradually to come to know others, know them well with all the old senseless uneasiness gone and just a warm sincerity and oneness as guide. Out of this comes the answer to the question—is race prejudice instinctive and incompatible or acquired and artificial?

It is utterly artificial, utterly senseless and only the result of shallow thinking, closed eyes and the stupid imitative stupidity so characteristic of the American people who seem daily to lose all individuality of principle and thought. The only result is that they are the poorer for it, denying themselves inspiration and joy.

To stand quietly in the presence of Du Bois is a moment one never forgets; to see the intense sacrifice and utmost idealization of service flame in the quick, vivid, tensely expressed book of Walter White shames one's conceptions of effort; to look straight into the quiet eyes of James Weldon Johnson scatters all one's flimsy notions as the vast arch of night and stars sweeps aside the conceit of man's pre-eminence.

The Outer Pocket

I notice in some High Schools the vocational work is used only to prepare servants. For instance students are encouraged to take cooking, sewing, beauty culture work, chef courses, etc., with the idea of working as servants after graduation. The courses are not full enough to prepare the students to establish themselves in these lines of business, but have just enough knowledge to make them fairly good servants.

I mention this merely because it seems as though the same danger as was confronted at Fisk has already taken hold of some of the High Schools.

Marshall, Texas.

It was only a few years ago when I in common with a group of friends was organizing a "Missionary Manifesto" for publication in the press, in connection with the Amritsar Riots and Massacre that we were threatened with arrest; and when I asked the government official on what grounds he would charge us, his reply was: "Oh, well, in many ways I agree with what you have published; but we white folk must stick together, right or wrong!" As a matter of fact, no legal action was taken; but the incident illustrates the atmosphere in India.

I wonder if you have read "At the Back of the Primeval Forest" by Albert Schweitzer, the brilliant young professor who has gone out to Central Africa as a medical missionary? There is a sentence in that book which, I think, expresses the motive of many of us white men who are working with the colored people. He says (I quote from memory): "When one realizes all the wrongs which the white races have inflicted on the dark races, it becomes, for a Christian White Man, a matter not of charity but of mere duty and atonement to give of the best he can in his own life to the service of the Colored Peoples." ———A matter of atonement—that is what many of us feel to be the true character of any service we can render to the peoples of the Indian or of the African races.

E. C. Dewick,
Calcutta, India.

The Looking Glass

LITERATURE

BLACK SATIN

BLACK-SATIN, I love you, I want you!
I love the shimmering splendor of your skin!
Come home with me now to my house—
I will light a thousand candles for you,
I will put you in a great carved bed,
With white, white sheets and a scarlet coverlid—
Ebony against snow.
Little black panther I love to feel your warm
Breath against my neck—
You are the dark flower of my heart.

S. W. Henry in *Poetry*.

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LISTENERS IN

THE EDITOR of THE CRISIS spoke at Ford Hall, Boston, in January, on "The Hypocrisy of White Folk". The response from the radio audience has been most interesting and wide-spread. Many were pleased. Dalkeith, Ontario, writes thanks "for your fearless straightforwardness". Chicopee, Massachusetts, says "It is seldom that the public has the opportunity to hear the unadulterated truth spoken". Norwich, New York, was "greatly interested in the handling of the subject". Shin Pond, Maine, found the topic and discussion "vastly interesting". East Granby, Connecticut, declares that the lecture was "delightfully interesting". Springfield, Massachusetts, says "It is the best so far. We need many more speakers with the courage to tell the truth and many more organizations with the courage to spread it". New Britain, Connecticut, "thoroughly enjoyed" the lecture. And even Freemont, Ohio, "enjoyed it very much". A Parker House waiter complains that the speaker did not give them any startling information nor supply the solution. "I can supply what he shied at. I would like to speak at your forum."

But it was not all approbation by any means. From South Ryegate, Vermont, comes this: "I know what is eating the colored Gentlemen they want to marry white women and then have the white men say it is O. K. Well that time is not to be until the whites are all dead. Now I worked in Boston about 7 or 8 years with what is known as the Mick Irish Catholics so you may probably realize I know what they want and what means they intend to use to attain their ends. . . . How I would like to have you get a good K. K. K. speaker at the Forum in the near future the only people who dare speak for the White Protestant Americans are Clansmen. . . . I wish that all the Jews would go back to Jerusalem and the Irish to Ireland, the Greeks to Greece, etc. These foreigners come over here and they want to run the country and they stand ready to cut the throat of any American that opens his mouth."

Salisbury, New York, seems especially upset. The postmaster writes: "My suggestion is that you find some *decent* American citizen to broadcast talks instead of the despicable trouble maker that you allowed to broadcast last evening." Two

good Christians add: "We were very sorry to hear such words broadcasted Sunday evening in this beautiful U. S. A. There is enough such stuff being printed and circulated among people stirring them up without wafting it thro the world. Especially when he assailed the churches! What would the world be if it wasn't for the churches? We felt terribly hurt over the address. We turned off before it was finished."

And finally here comes a telegram from Wallingford, Connecticut: "In as much as the Japs are getting control of the West and you say the colored race is organizing business and schools in the South, can you blame white people for keeping control of banks, schools and business in as much of the United States as we can control?"

THE PHILIPPINES

SILAS BENT writes in the New York *Times*, reviewing "The Conquest of the Philippines by the United States" by Moorfield Storey and Marcia P. Lichauco:

In accordance with the new law, Filipinos were rapidly put in charge of the new administration of the islands. They now had the opportunity to make good. Only an American Governor General, Vice Governor, auditor and a few minor officials remained. Between that time and 1921 (when the incumbent, Governor General Leonard Wood, took charge) new public schools were provided, and the attendance in them increased from 440,000 to 1,100,000. The total population of the islands now is but eleven millions. The amount of money spent out of Filipino pockets for education was tripled. The number of Filipino teachers in the schools was much more than doubled. Those who believe that an educated electorate is important to organize self-control may attach significance to these figures.

In the same period the total mileage of first-class roads was more than doubled, and the same was true of interisland coastwise traffic. From no public medical dispensaries at all there grew more than 800. The number of hospitals was nearly tripled. The death rate was decreased. The organizations for infant welfare increased from one to more than 600. So it went. We need not multiply details.

President Wilson, observing this improvement, said to Congress at the end of 1920 that the Filipinos had succeeded in maintaining a stable Government, and added: "I respectfully submit that this condition precedent having been fulfilled, it is now our liberty and our duty to keep our promise to the people of these islands by granting them the independence which they so honorably covet."

SOUTH AFRICA

A MISSIONARY writes of conditions in Johannesburg, South Africa:

The social and economic progress of South African Natives is seriously hampered by an ignorant and indifferent public opinion on the part of the white population. There is a lack of conscience when it comes to applying Christian principles to race problems. White church leaders are hesitant when it comes to "comin' right out in meetin'" and telling their followers what Christ says about neighborliness and brotherly love. In looking about for a way in which to awaken, even to a negligible extent, a Christian conscience among the whites, we decided that the morning newspaper in Johannesburg was probably the most powerful and widespread single influence in forming public opinion on the Reef and surrounding district. Its 40,000 circulation reaches the laboring class as well as the plutes.

Accordingly we approached the Editor of the "Rand Daily Mail" and proposed that he give us space weekly for articles on Practical Religion. Nothing of the kind has appeared in South African newspapers, so it was asking for a good deal. After consideration, however, he assented, and now gives us a column a week on the editorial page, between the leading editorial and the main news item of the day, calling it "Saturday Talks, by Padre". In this column we run articles which we try to make interesting and vital on questions of personal and group relationships from a Christian standpoint and try as hard as we can to prod the dormant conscience on racial issues. For twenty weeks we have filled this column, and it has received favorable comment from readers. We feel that this venture, although a curious one for missionary (at least in this land), may prove of some value in assisting in the necessary job of molding a more Christ-like opinion among the Europeans who are the determining factor in all these matters. . . .

A good deal of time has been spent during the past year in work with the Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Natives. This Council is composed of forty whites and forty Natives for the study and consideration of all matters involving the Natives. In the absence of the Chairman, a local business man, Phillips as vice-chairman has had to give much time to meetings, deputations and conferences, dealing both with local conditions and with Government legislation.

Recent legislation or attempted legislation by the new Pact Government has kept Natives and their friends alternately protesting at proposed laws and wondering what was coming next. The Pact Government is a coalition between the Nationalist Party (Dutch) and the Labor Party, and election pledges that the white worker was to be protected from black encroachment

have led to several ill-considered bills being introduced into Parliament, the most reactionary being the Color-Bar bill which would give the Minister power to declare any trade or occupation open to white men only, thereby debarring blacks. This is an attempt to guarantee employment in industry for white workers, especially protecting the poor-whites who are an increasing problem because of their lack of ambition and general uselessness. In many lines of endeavor, Natives are proving superior to this class of whites and are taking their jobs (or potential jobs). This is the reason for this morally unjustifiable legislation, looking to the protection of the lazy white man against the thrifty, hard-working black. This Color-Bar bill has been held up by action of the Senate, as the result of much protest and agitation, but it is feared another similar bill will be introduced next session.

An editorial in the *Workers Herald* published in Cape Town speaks of the "forgetfulness and lethargy" of the South African native:

When the Native Land Act was ratified by Parliament in 1913, the whole country was ablaze with indignation. Intellectuals were up in arms and used their pens like pick-handles. The ardent Sol. T. Plaatje was so inspired that he wrote one of the best—if not the best—books ever produced by a Native in this country. Today that spirit has cooled down to calm resignation.

Some years ago Natives on the Rand became so "wild" about the Pass Law that they flung their passes—so-called precious exemption "certificates" included—to the four winds of heaven! Bag-loads of passes were deposited on the steps of the Pass Office until the authorities became alarmed and promised that they would "look into the matter". They "looked into the matter" right enough about two or three years ago, and produced a "registration" system even more embarrassing and degrading than the first state of affairs, and now the Natives, instead of kicking the pass sky-high, do not only take pride in an "Exemption Certificate", but they have actually allowed their women-folk to be burdened with this degradation as well. All they did in the way of protest was to give vent to a few feeble squeals, and one or two faint-hearted protests and there the matter ended—and will probably remain.

Recently the Government declared its Native Policy—a policy that will make statesmen of the world blush with shame. And now the country is agog with prattle. Conferences galore have been arranged, but let us hope that Themanism, Msimangism or any other vacuumism, will not be introduced into these gatherings, because we know these fellows to talk until they are blue in the face, or until they see green spiders and yet in the end they will achieve nothing but bosh. We are not unmindful of our theme of co-operation and conciliation, but there are some fellows who are irredeemable political renegades, and we have no time for them, because they have no time for anything except cheap notoriety and self-gain. We hope, however, that the Bloemfontein Conference was attended by men who can be depended upon.

The present state of affairs cannot continue. The Natives must make a definite stand to resist and overthrow, diplomatically and constitutionally, the white man's doses of frigid humbug in the order in which they arrive. There is a limit to human endurance—even of Natives—and the Government is now overreaching itself to the extent that its proposed legislation is bordering between the sublime and the ridiculous. More than that! One could almost say that some of the "gifts" intended for Natives would not be acceptable even to barbarians of the stone age. It is now time for the people to act directly, simultaneously and wisely—also fearlessly. Let the white man know that we are not going to endure this injustice. Let him know that every Native—male and female—entertains this spirit. And let him know that we can dislocate the business of this country if he continues to rain down his iniquity on innocent, law-abiding and hard-working people. This is no idle threat. It is simply what will happen if this kind of thing is not countered by sane statesmanship.

IN KENTUCKY AND MISSISSIPPI

THE Louisville *Times* says:

Harris, a Fayette County Negro, assaulted a white woman and confessed. He was tried promptly and sentenced to death.

Norheimer, a Louisville organization politician, accused of assaulting a ten-year-old girl, denied guilt and was condemned to life imprisonment, in a trial which occurred belatedly and after much airing of the case by the *Times* and the *Courier-Journal*, but which was prosecuted vigorously by Commonwealth's Attorney Lawton and his assistants.

A Negro girl eleven years old is in a sanitarium in Lexington and a white man is charged with having committed assault.

Everyone expected the Negro, Harris, to be hanged, and at great expense to the State, elaborate preparations were made to prevent a lynching despite the prevalent belief. Precautions would have been necessary had murder not attended rape. Hardly anyone expected Norheimer, the white man, to be hanged. There was no disposition, at the time of the crime or later, to lynch him. In the third case there is not a remote probability of disposition of white men or Negroes to lynch the alleged assaulter. There is no expectation of a death verdict in the event of indictment and trial being warranted.

Conviction of Norheimer, in circumstances existing, constituted a triumph for the prosecution. The prosecutors deserve praise for distinguished public service. The jury, of course, had a right to exercise its discretion as to the nature of the sentence, but it should be borne in mind that if Norheimer was guilty of the rape of a child he was as guilty as the Negro Harris, who was not tried for triple murder, but for criminal assault, and that if a white man in Lexington assaulted a Negro girl he is as guilty as Harris was in the case in which he was tried.

When a lynching is avoided civilization scores, but it is of vast importance, for sundry reasons, to hang white men, as well as Negroes, for rape. Too few white men are sentenced to death. Hanging a white man for assaulting a Negro girl would be a triumph of civilization in Kentucky.

The New Orleans, Louisiana, *Item* adds:

The district attorney at Clarksdale, (Miss.), nolle prosses the indictments against three white men charged with the murder of a Negro, who was lynched last December immediately after acquittal on a charge of murdering a white planter. The district attorney's action comes as no surprise. A jury acquittal in an earlier trial assured acquittal of these. A trial would have been useless.

The results of this effort to punish these murderers, in a way, are saddening and discouraging. All escaped scot free. The sheriff, who failed to protect the Negro after his acquittal, was fined, but remains in office.

Eugene V. Debs adds in the *American Appeal:*

It took just fifteen-and-a-half minutes to try, convict and sentence a Negro to the gallows down in Kentucky a few days ago.

It is the record for the swift execution of justice as administered by courts of law in the United States.

It is granted that the Negro thus summarily sentenced was guilty of a terrible crime.

The point we are now making, though set like steel against capital punishment, is not that the punishment was too swift or too severe, but the extraordinary trial and conviction in this case were due solely to the fact that the defendant was a Negro.

Had he **been a white man** instead of a Negro there would have been no such excitement as to give the case nation-wide attention; the governor would not have been required to order out the state militia; and all the resources of the state would not have been brought into play to prevent another lynching, a possible burning at the stake, followed perhaps by the gruesome sale of the victim's bones as souvenirs of the vindication of "white supremacy" and of the law as administered in our Christian civilization.

The Negro in this instance committed murder and was guilty, it is assumed, of rape, though this feature of the frightful affair is left to the inference in the press reports.

In any event it was, as we have said, a terrible crime.

But what made the crime infinitely more terrible in the eyes of the Christian citizens of Kentucky, where Nordic culture and white supremacy prevail, and where our vaunted civilization, based upon the golden rule and upon the precepts of charity and forgiveness taught by the Master is made manifest in many thousands of churches established in His name, is that it was committed by a human being with a BLACK skin instead of a WHITE one.

That the mob of bloodthirsty Christians who surrounded the court house and were only held at bay by the armed forces of the state did not add another lynching to their Christian record was not at all their fault. They surged through the streets, these pious American citizens, with all their basest passions unleashed, thirsting for blood to glut their ferocious vengeance. Morally speaking, they lynched their victim and are guilty of that enormous crime, for in their hearts there seethed the bloodlust inherited from their remote ancestors in the primeval jungles.

Many and many a Negro girl, scarcely out of her childhood, has been seduced, raped, assaulted by a Nordic gentleman (!) with a white skin, but it has never been necessary to order out the state militia to protect him against the avenging wrath of his Christian fellow-citizens.

PURE VIRGINIA

THE "Anglo-Saxons" in Virginia have at last really started something. Thus the *Virginian Pilot* of Norfolk, Virginia, cries out:

When the Anglo-Saxon Club of Hampton took its private grudge to the Legislature and asked it, through the Massenburg bill, to make mandatory and absolute a race separation already voluntarily observed everywhere in the state except at a private Negro college where the variation from the universal state practice has been without offense to the community for a full half century, it took the state some time to awaken to the fact that the proposed bill was obnoxious and destructive of that confidence and good will between the races that all thoughtful Virginians are seeking to promote. . . . Opposition to the bill grows from day to day among the state newspapers. The first to object to the bill were the Lynchburg *News* and the *Virginian-Pilot*. Their protest was voiced simultaneously. This week the Richmond *News Leader* has become alarmed over the measure and joined the opposition. Now the opposition is joined by our neighbor the *Ledger-Dispatch*. And the end is not yet.

What is the matter with these Virginia

(*Concluded on page* 306)

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(*Continued from page* 301)

citizens and Virginia newspapers? Don't they believe in racial integrity and social separateness for the white and black races?

They do believe in racial integrity but they don't believe that Prussianized segregation enforced by the aid of a sheriff in the privately-owned assembly hall of a privately-endowed Negro college has anything more to do with racial integrity than has the proposed Atlanta ordinance prohibiting Negro barbers from serving white patrons. They believe, moreover, that segregation practiced voluntarily by the two races is incomparably more desirable than segregation made mandatory by formal enactment. . . .

If the white people of this state can force an entry into the auditorium of a private Negro college and by law compel the authorities of such a college to set aside special seats for exclusive white use, then the colored people of the state have an equal right under the same law to force an entry into the auditorium of Hampden-Sidney, Randolph-Macon or any other private white college and require the authorities of these institutions to provide accommodations for Negro visitors.

HARE AND RICHARDSON

THE St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, *Mail Notes* writes:

Last night's entertainment,—song recitals,—wherein Mrs. Maud Cuney-Hare, pianist, and Mr. William Richardson of Boston, made their first appearance before the public of St. Thomas was a complete success.

It has been "in the long, long ago" that St. Thomas has heard a baritone singer of such mellow tones, and in which the natural richness of the voice was supplemented by thorough training. Such being the case it is only natural that the large and representative gathering of music lovers of St. Thomas should have felt the spell of Mr. Richardson's voice and acknowledged their indebtedness to Bandmaster Adams for the treat he had arranged for them.

And Mrs. Cuney-Hare? What of her? She placed herself high in the esteem of those who were fortunate enough to have booked their seats at the Apollo for she proved charming, both from her marked ability as a conversationalist and a musician.

The entertainment was under the patronage of His Excellency the Governor and Mrs. Trench.

¶ John William Smith, a Negro, presided over the Board of Aldermen of New York City during one of its recent sessions.

¶ Miss Hazel Harrison, a pupil of Busoni and Petri of Berlin, has gone abroad for study and concert work.

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